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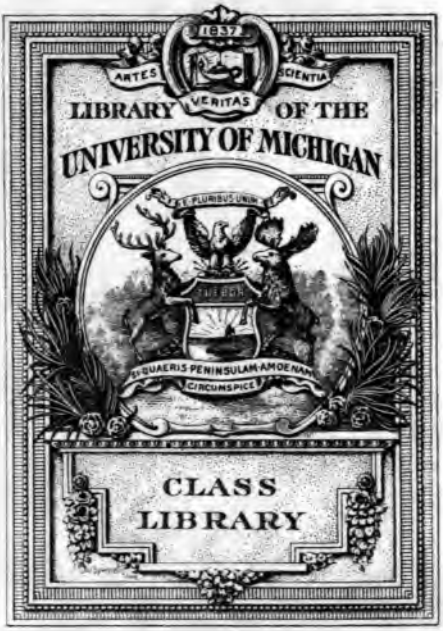

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FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DEATH OF KING EDWARD VII

BY

SAMUEL R. GARDINER, D.C.L., LL.D.

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VOL. III.

A.D. 1689—1910

NEW EDITION (1910)

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GENEALOGICAL TABLES

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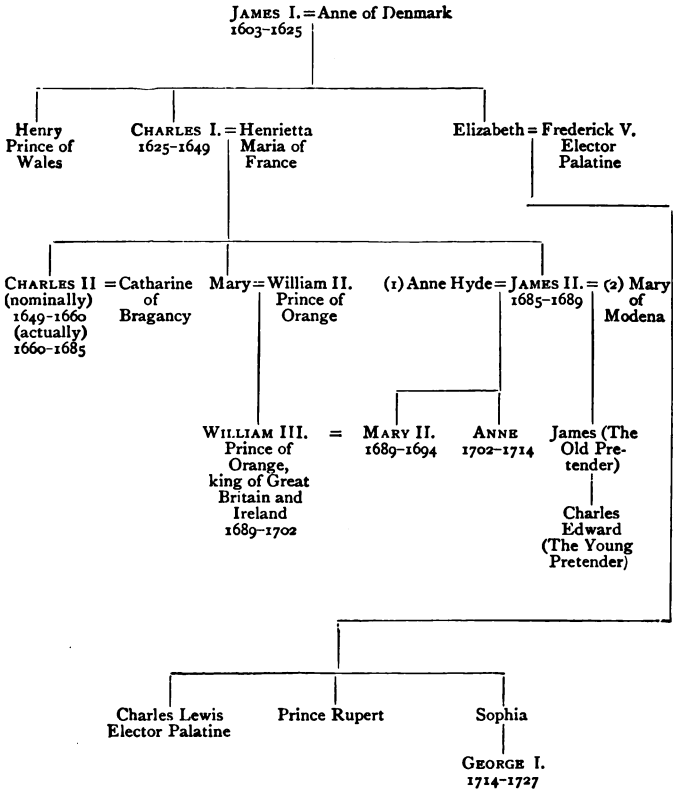
KINGS AND QUEENS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND FROM JAMES I. TO GEORGE I.



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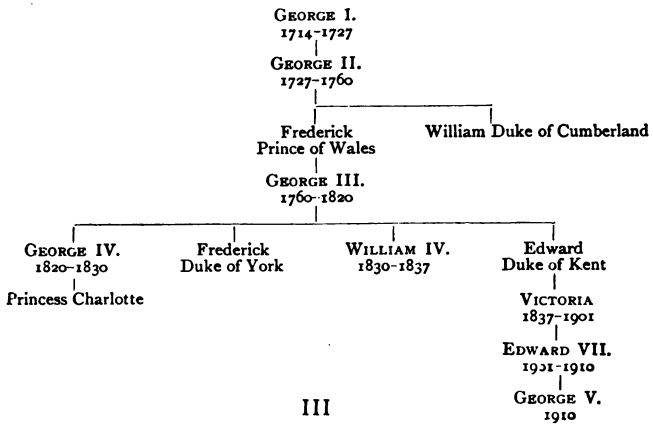

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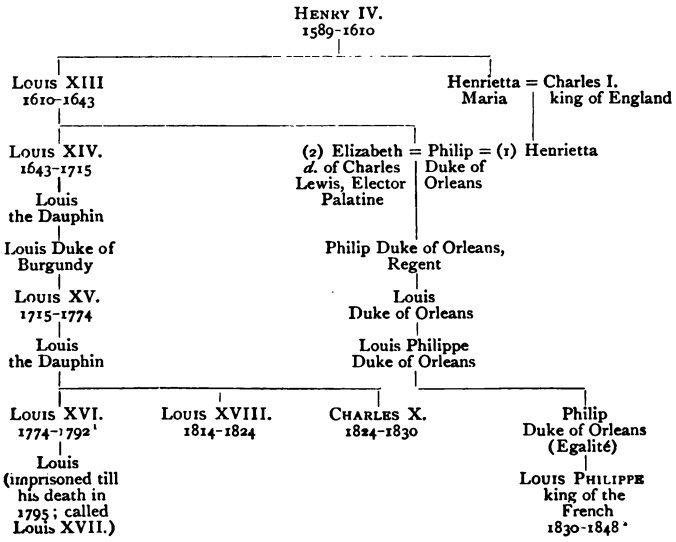

[1] Republic 1792-1799, nominally to 1804 [2] Republic 1848-1851, nominally to 1852.

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IV

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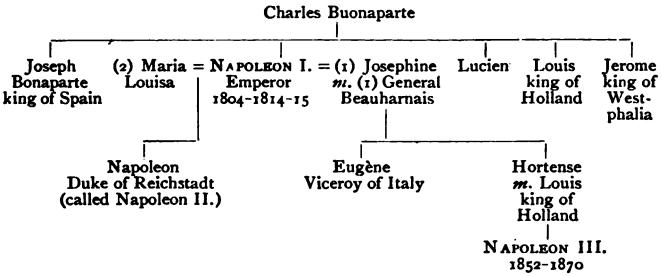

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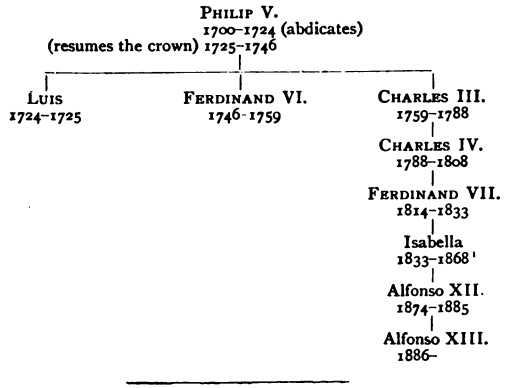

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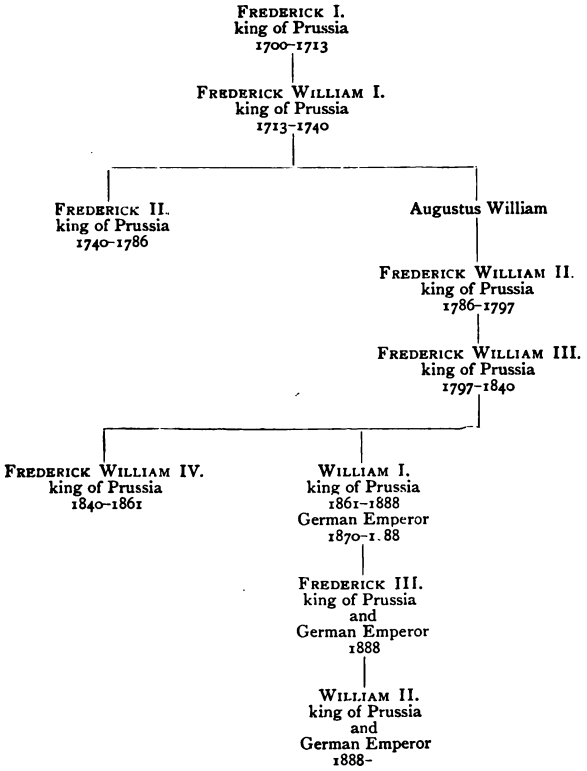

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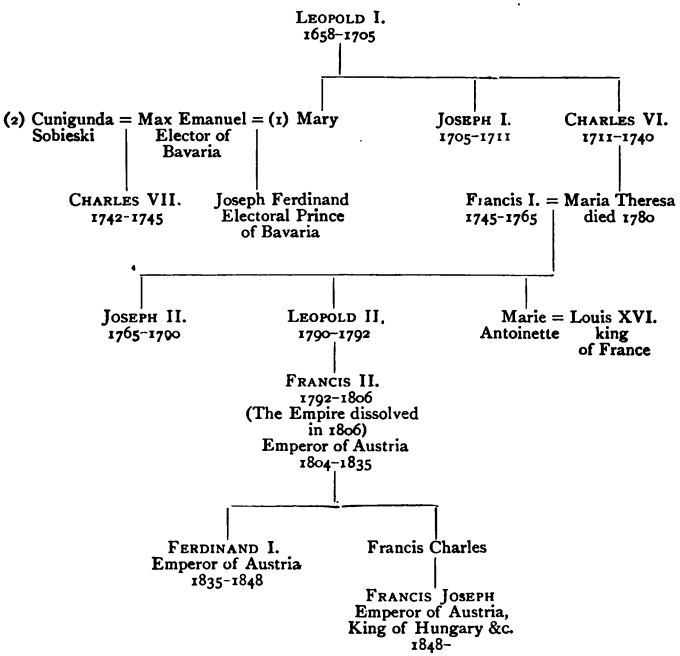
(The dates given are those during which an archduke was emperor.)



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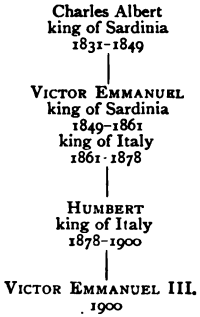

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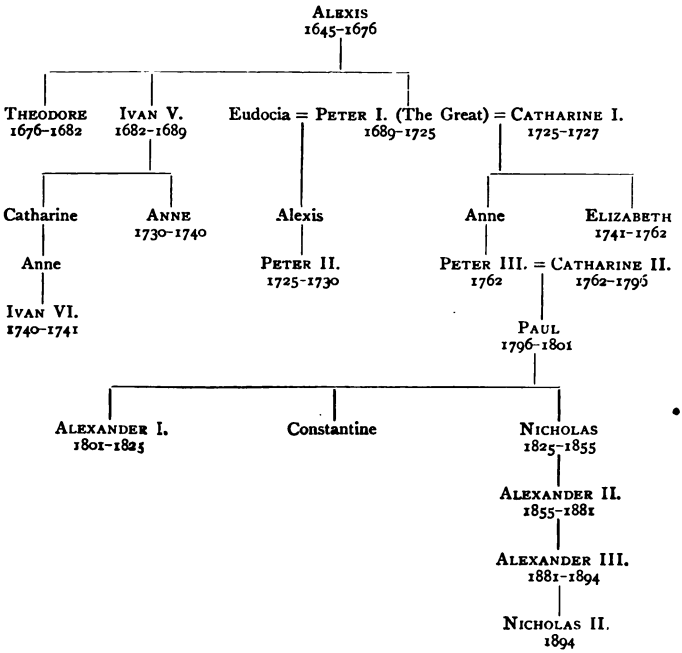

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PART VIII

THE RISE OF CABINET GOVERNMENT

1689—1754

CHAPTER XLII

WILLIAM III. AND MARY II.

WILLIAM III. 1689–1702. MARY II. 1689—1694

LEADING DATES

The Mutiny Act and the Toleration Act	1689
Battle of Killiecrankie	July 27, 1689
Relief of Londonderry	July 30, 1689
Battle of the Boyne	July 1, 1690
Surrender of Limerick	Oct. 3, 1691
Massacre of Glencoe	Feb. 13, 1692
Battle of La Hogue	May 19, 1692
The Formation of the Whig Junto	1693—1694
The Triennial Act	1694
Death of Mary	Dec. 28, 1694

1. **The new Government and the Mutiny Act. 1689.**—It was unlikely that William would long be popular. He was cold and reserved, and he manifestly cared more for the struggle on the Continent than for the strife which never ceased between English parties. Yet he was sagacious enough to know that it was only by managing English affairs with firmness and wisdom that he could hope to carry England with him in his conflict with France; and he did his work so well that, though few of his new subjects loved him, most of them learned to respect him. As he owed his crown to the support of both parties, he chose his first ministers from both. In March his throne was exposed to some danger. The army was dissatisfied in consequence of the shabby part which

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it had played when called on to defend James II., and one regiment mutinied. Only the Dutch troops could be trusted, and it was by them that the mutiny was suppressed. The punishment of mutinous soldiers by courts martial had been forbidden by the Petition of Right (see p. 508). Parliament now passed a Mutiny Act,

William III.

which authorised the maintenance of discipline by such courts for six months only. The Act has been since renewed from year to year, and as, if it dropped, the king would have no lawful means of maintaining discipline, Parliament thus maintains control over the army.

2. The Toleration Act and the Nonjurors. 1689.—Still more

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important was the Toleration Act, which gave to Dissenters the legal right to worship publicly, on complying with certain formalities. From this toleration Unitarians and Roman Catholics were excluded. The great mass of Protestant Dissenters were well satisfied, and the chief cause of religious strife was thus removed.

Mary II.

An attempt made to carry a Comprehension Bill (see pp. 598, 599), which was intended to attract Dissenters to the Church by altering the Prayer Book, ended in complete failure. All holders of office in Church and State were required to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to the new sovereigns. About 400 of the clergy with Archbishop Sancroft and six other bishops refused to swear. Their

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offices were conferred on others, and they, holding that they and those who continued to acknowledge them were the true Church, founded a body which, under the name of Nonjurors, continued to exist for more than a century.

3. **Locke's Letters on Toleration. 1689.**—The Toleration Act itself was in the main the fruit of the change which had taken place in the political circumstances of the nation since the Restoration. Men had had reason to be afraid of Roman Catholics, and were no longer afraid of Dissenters. Alongside of this political change, however, had grown up a change of opinion amongst the thinking men who had especial influence in the Whig party. In **1689** the philosopher Locke published his 'Letters on Toleration.' They were much less heroic than Milton's 'Areopagitica' (see p. 546), and instead of dwelling on the bracing effects of liberty on the human spirit, maintained the view that the State had no business to interfere with religious conviction. A Church, according to Locke, was 'a voluntary society of men joining themselves together of their own accord, in order to the public worshipping of God in such manner as they shall judge acceptable to Him and effectual to the salvation of their souls.' On such voluntary associations the State had no right to impose penalties.

Royal Arms as borne by William III.

4. **Establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland. 1689.**—In Scotland and Ireland William had to fight for his crown. In Scotland, before the Parliament met, the Episcopal clergy were 'rabbled,' that is to say, were driven from their parishes with insult and ill-usage by angry crowds. Parliament then declared James to have forfeited the crown and gave it to William and Mary. It also declared Presbyterianism to be the religion of the country.

5. **Killiecrankie. 1689.**—To many of the nobles the establishment of a clergy which owed them no respect was distasteful, and some, of whom the most conspicuous were the Duke of Gordon and Viscount Dundee, who had till lately been known as Graham of Claverhouse (see p. 620), drew their swords for James. Gordon held out in Edinburgh Castle till June 13. Dundee, following the

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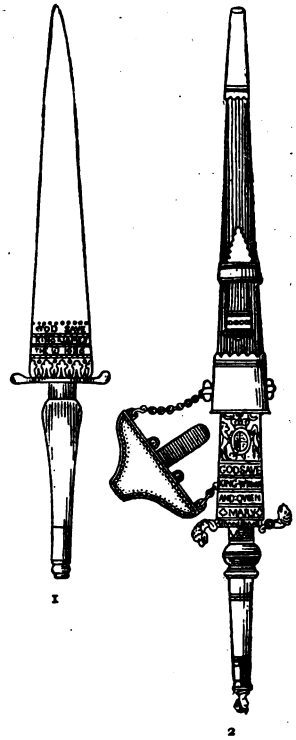
example of Montrose (see p. 547), a Graham like himself, gathered the Highland clans around him. On July 27, he drew up his force on the flat ground at the head of the pass of Killiecrankie. William's general, Mackay, toiled up the steep hillside to attack him. His soldiers had been supplied with bayonets, a new French invention intended to make each soldier a pikeman as well as a musketeer. The invention had not yet been perfected, and the bayonets had to be fixed in the muzzles of the guns. When Mackay's men reached the top exhausted by the climb and the summer heat, they fired their shots, and then, seeing the Highlanders rushing upon them, fumbled with their bayonets. Before they could get them fixed the Highlanders, with their flashing broadswords, were upon them. Dundee had been killed by the first fire, but his men swept the lowland soldiers down the pass, leaping lightly over the rocks and slaying as they went. The Highlanders, caring more for plunder than for James, returned home to deposit their booty in safety.



1, Bayonet as made in 1686.
2, Bayonet of the time of William and Mary.

6. **The Pacification of the Highlands. 1691—1692.**—The Highlanders were poor, and in **1691** a distribution of 15,000*l.* amongst the chiefs of the clans brought them one by one to submission. December 31 was announced as the last day on which the oaths acknowledging William would be accepted. By that time all had resolved to give way; but one of the number, MacIan Glencoe, the head of a small clan, one of the many into which the Macdonalds were divided, took pride in being the last to submit, and made his appearance on the 31st. Unfortunately he by mistake came to a gentleman who had no authority to accept his oath, and when he reached a person who could accept it, the

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appointed day had passed. The Master of Stair,[1] William's chief minister in Scotland, thought this an excellent opportunity to show the Highlanders that the Government could punish as well as reward, and asked William's leave to destroy MacIan's clan, on the plea that they had, like most other Highland clans, been guilty in past time of acts of brigandage and murder. William gave his assent, writing that it would be good to 'extirpate that set of thieves.'

7. **The Massacre of Glencoe. 1692.**—The Master of Stair proceeded to execute, in a peculiarly treacherous manner, the order which he had obtained. He sent into Glencoe a party of soldiers, who gave out on their arrival that they had come as friends. They lived with the clansmen, ate at their tables, joked, and played at cards with them. On the morning of February 13, **1692**, whilst it was still dark, the soldiers surrounded the huts of those very men with whom they had been making merry the evening before. They then dragged many of them out of their beds and murdered them, firing at such as fled. Not a few, indeed, succeeded in making their escape, but the mountains on either side of the glen were lofty and rugged, and most of those who took refuge in them died of cold and hunger amidst the rocks and the snow. When the tale was told at Edinburgh the Scottish Parliament broke out into indignation, and William had to dismiss the Master of Stair from office. It was the first time that the Lowland Scotch had shown compassion for Highlanders. Hitherto they had always treated them as a wild and savage race of plunderers for whom there was no mercy.

8. **The Siege of Londonderry. 1689.**—In Ireland William had to deal with something like national resistance. On March 12 James, bringing with him some French officers, landed at Kinsale. Tyrconnel had ready for him an ill-equipped and ill-disciplined Irish army. To the native Irish James was still the lawful king, whose title was unaffected by anything that an English Parliament could do. To the English and Scottish colonists he was a mere usurper, the enemy of their creed and nation. The northern Protestants, chased from their homes with outrage, took refuge in Enniskillen and Londonderry. In Londonderry the governor, Lundy, prepared to surrender, but when James arrived with his army the inhabitants took the defence into their own hands and closed the gates in his face. The besiegers strictly blockaded

[1] In Scotland, the eldest sons of lords and viscounts were known by the title of Master.

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the town by land and threw a boom across the river Foyle, so that no food might enter from the sea. The defenders were before long reduced to feed on horse-flesh, and they had not much of that. From the top of the cathedral they could see ships which William had sent to their relief, but the ships lay inactive for weeks. Men who had been well off were glad to feed on the flesh of dogs, and even to gnaw hides in the hope of getting nourishment out of them. At last, on July 30, three of the ships moved up the river. One of them dashed at the boom and broke it, though she was herself driven on shore by the recoil. The tide, however, rose and floated her off. The whole store of food was borne safely to the town, and Londonderry was saved. James and his Irish army marched away. On the day of his retreat an Irish force was defeated at Newtown Butler by the Protestants of Enniskillen.

9. **The Irish Parliament. 1689.**—On May 7, whilst James was before Londonderry, the Irish Parliament met at Dublin. The House of Commons was almost entirely composed of native Irish, and the Parliament passed an Act annulling all the English confiscations since **1641**. The lands taken by force in times past were to be restored to the Irish owners or their heirs. Those English, however, who had acquired Irish confiscated lands by purchase were to be compensated, and to find money for this compensation an Act of Attainder was passed against about 2,000 of William's partisans. As most of them were out of harm's way, but little blood was likely to be shed, though a great deal of property would change owners. A considerable part of Irish land having been confiscated by the English authorities during the past forty years, this proceeding did not appear in Ireland to be as outrageous as it would have seemed in a settled country like England.

10. **Schomberg sent to Ireland. 1689.**—Once more England and Ireland were brought into direct antagonism. Not only did Protestant Englishmen sympathise deeply with the wrongs of their countrymen in Ireland, whilst they were unable to perceive that the Irish had suffered any wrongs at all, but they could not fail to see that if James established himself in Ireland, he would next attempt, with French help, to establish himself in England. As it had been in Elizabeth's reign so it was now. Either England must conquer Ireland, or Ireland would be used by a foreign nation to conquer England. Accordingly, in August, Schomberg—who had been a French marshal, but, being a Protestant, had resigned his high position after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (see p. 638) rather than renounce his

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faith—was sent by William with an English army to Carrickfergus. The weather was bad, and the arrangements of the commissariat were worse, so that disease broke out among the soldiers, and nothing serious was done during the remainder of the year.

11. **The Bill of Rights and the Dissolution of the Convention Parliament. 1689—1690.**—In England, the Convention Parliament had passed a Bill of Rights, embodying the demands of the former Declaration of Rights (see p. 647). Since then it had grown intractable. The Whig majority had forgotten the services rendered by the Tories against James, and, treating them as enemies, was eager to take vengeance on them. When, therefore, a Bill of Indemnity was brought in, the Whigs excepted from it so many of the Tory leaders on the ground that they had supported the harsh acts of the last two kings, that William, who cared for neither party, suddenly prorogued Parliament and then dissolved it.

12. **Settlement of the Revenue. 1690.**—A new Parliament, in which the majority was Tory, met on March 20, **1690**, and by confining to four years their grant of nearly half the revenue of the Crown, put a check upon any attempt of a future king to make himself absolute. Subsequently the grant became annual; after which no king could avoid summoning Parliament every year, as he could not make himself financially independent of the House of Commons. The supremacy of Parliament was thus, as far as law could do it, practically secured. Finally, an Act of Grace[1] gave an indemnity to all excepting a few persons, to whom no harm was intended as long as they abstained from attacking the Government.

13. **The Conquest of Ireland. 1690—1691.** On June 14, **1690**, William landed at Carrickfergus. On July 1, he defeated James at the battle of the Boyne. Schomberg was killed, and James fled to Kinsale, where he embarked for France. William entered Dublin in triumph, and, marching on through the country, on August 8 laid siege to Limerick. Wet weather set in and caused disease amongst the besiegers, whilst the Irish general, Sarsfield, sweeping round them, destroyed the siege guns on their way to batter the walls. William for the time abandoned the attack and returned to England. In **1691** a Dutch general, Ginkell, was placed in command of the English army. Under him were Mackay, who had been defeated at Killiecrankie, and Ruvigny, a

[1] An Act of Grace was similar to an Act of Indemnity, except that it originated with the king, and could only be accepted or rejected, not amended by the Houses.

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French Protestant refugee. Thus commanded, William's troops took Athlone on June 30, and on July 12 destroyed the Irish army at Aughrim. Limerick was again besieged, and, on October 3, it capitulated. All officers and soldiers who wished to go to France were allowed to emigrate. To the Irish Catholics were granted such privileges in the exercise of their religion as they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles II., when there had been a connivance at the exercise of the Roman Catholic worship so long as it was not obtrusive. The Irish Parliament, however, representing now the English colony alone, called for persecuting measures, and William had to govern Ireland, if he was to govern Ireland at all, in accordance with its wishes. Limerick became deservedly known amongst the Irish as 'the City of the violated treaty.'

14. **War with France. 1689—1690.**—In the meantime, whilst William was distracted by foes in his own kingdom, Louis had been doing his best to get the better of his enemies. In **1689** the allies were able to make head against him without any decisive result. In **1690** Louis sent his best Admiral, Tourville, to sweep the Channel and invade England whilst William was away in Ireland. Off Beachy Head Tourville was met by a combined English and Dutch fleet. In the battle which followed, the English Admiral, Herbert, who had lately been created Lord Torrington, kept, probably through mere mismanagement, his own ships out of harm's way, whilst he allowed his Dutch allies to expose themselves to danger. Under these circumstances Tourville gained the victory, whilst in the Netherlands the French Marshal, Luxembourg, defeated the allied armies at Fleurus. Though William had been for some time unpopular in England as a foreigner, yet the nation now rallied round him as the enemy of the French. Tourville sailed down the Channel, and asked a fisherman with whom he came up what he thought of King James. "He is a very worthy gentleman, I believe," was the reply, "God bless him." Tourville then asked the fisherman to take service on board his ship. "What? I," answered the man, "go with the French to fight against the English? Your honour must excuse me; I could not do it to save my life." Thousands of Englishmen who were indifferent to the claims of James or William would have nothing to say to James because he had put himself under the protection of the French.

15. **Disgrace of Marlborough. 1691—1692.**—Churchill, who had been created Earl of Marlborough by William, had won distinction as a soldier both in Ireland and in the Netherlands. Both as an

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Englishman and as a soldier he was offended at the favour shown to foreigners by William. Dutchmen and Frenchmen were promoted over the heads of English officers. Dutchmen filled the most lucrative posts at court, and were raised to the English peerage. It was, perhaps, natural that William should advance those whom he knew best and trusted most, but in so doing he alienated a great number of Englishmen. Men high in office doubted whether a government thus constituted could last, and, partly because they were personally disgusted, partly because they wished to make themselves safe in any event, entered into communication with James, and promised to support his claims, a promise which they intended to keep or break as might be most convenient to themselves. Marlborough went further than any. In **1691**, he offered to move an address in the House of Lords, asking William to dismiss the foreigners, assuring James that, if William refused, the army and navy would expel him from England; and he also induced the Princess Anne to put herself in opposition to her sister, the Queen. On this William deprived Marlborough of all his offices.

16. **La Hogue, Steinkirk, and Landen. 1692—1693.**—Amongst those who had offered their services to James was Admiral Russell, a brother of the Lord Russell who had been beheaded (see p. 626). He was an ill-tempered man, and being dissatisfied in consequence of some real or fancied slight, told a Jacobite agent that he was willing to help James to regain the throne. Yet his offer was not without limitation. "Do not think," he added, "that I will let the French triumph over us in our own sea. Understand this, that if I meet them I fight them; ay, though His Majesty himself should be on board." Russell kept his word as far as the fighting was concerned. When in **1692** a French fleet and army were made ready for the invasion of England, he met the fleet near the Bay of La Hogue and utterly defeated it. His sailors followed up their victory and set on fire the greater number of the French ships, though they lay under the protection of batteries on shore. The French navy, indeed, was not swept from the sea, but the mastery had passed into the hands of the English. No further attempt was made by the French in this war to invade England, and Louis, intent upon victories on shore, took little trouble to maintain his navy. On land Louis still had the superiority. In **1692**, the year of the English victory at La Hogue, his army took Namur, and defeated the allies at Steinkirk with William at their head. In **1693** the French won another victory at Neerwinden, or, according to another name sometimes given to the battle, at Landen.

17. **Beginning of the National Debt. 1692.**—After both these

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defeats, William had, in his usual fashion, so rallied his defeated troops, that the French gained little by their victories. In the end success would come to the side which had most endurance. Money was as much needed as men, and, in **1692**, Parliament decided on borrowing 1,000,000*l.* for the support of the war. Kings and Parliaments had often borrowed money before, but in the long run they had failed either to pay interest or to repay the principal, and this loan is understood to be the beginning of the National Debt, because it was the first on which interest was steadily paid. The last piece of gold, the French king had said, would carry the day, and England with her commerce was likely to provide more gold than France, where trade was throttled by the constant interference of the Government, and deprived of the protection of an efficient navy.

18. **Disorder in the Government. 1693.**—On his return after his defeat at Neerwinden, William found everything in disorder. The House of Commons was out of temper in consequence of the military failure, and still more because of the corruption prevailing amongst the king's ministers, and the disorder of the administration. The system of drawing ministers from both parties had led to quarrels, and the House of Commons was at least as inefficient as the Government. There was no assured majority in it. If, as often happened, fifty or a hundred Whigs went off one day to amuse themselves at tennis, or to see a new play or a cock-fight, the Tories carried everything before them. If, on another day, fifty or a hundred Tories chose to disport themselves in the same manner, the Whigs could undo all that had been done by their rivals. There was, in those times, no fear of the constituencies before the eyes of a member of Parliament. No division-lists were printed and no speeches reported. "Nobody," said an active politician, "can know one day what a House of Commons will do the next."

19. **The Whig Junto. 1693—1694.**—Acting upon the advice of Sunderland, who, though in James's reign he had changed his religion to retain his place, was a shrewd observer of mankind, William provided a remedy for these disorders. Before the end of **1694** he discharged his Tory ministers and filled their posts with Whigs, who had now the sole possession of office. The four leading Whigs, who were consulted on all important matters and who were popularly known as the Junto, were Lord Somers, the Lord Keeper, a statesmanlike and large-minded lawyer; Admiral Russell, the First Lord of the Admiralty; Charles Montague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, an acute and

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able financier; and Thomas Wharton, afterwards Lord Wharton, Comptroller of the Household, a man of the worst character but an excellent electioneering agent, versed in all the arts which win adherents to a political party. What William hoped from this change of system was that, by having ministers who were of one mind, he would be able to have a House of Commons of one mind. Whig members would think it worth while to attend the House steadily, at personal inconvenience to themselves, not only because they wished to keep their own friends in office, but because those friends, as long as they remained in office, would dispose of plenty of well-paid posts and rewards of various kinds, and were more likely to give them to men who voted steadily for them than to those who did not.

20. **The Junto the Beginning of the Modern Cabinet.**—Nothing was further from William's thoughts than the introduction of a new kind of government. The ministers were still his ministers, and what he expected of them was that they would carry on the war more efficiently. Nevertheless, the formation of the Junto was a great step in advance in the direction of the modern Cabinet system, because it recognised frankly what Charles II. had occasionally recognised tacitly, that the growth of the power of the House of Commons was so great that the king could not govern satisfactorily unless the views of his ministers accorded with those of a majority of the House of Commons. It is evident now that this admission would ultimately lead to government, not by the king, but by a Cabinet supporting itself on an organised party in the House of Commons; but ideas grow slowly, and there would be much opposition to overcome before such a system could take root with general approbation.

21. **The Bank of England. 1694.**—The increased strength of William's government was not long in showing itself. In **1694** the Bank of England was founded, at the suggestion of William Paterson, a Scotchman who, through the influence of Montague, had become a member of the House of Commons. The growing wealth of the country made it necessary that a place should be found in which money might be more safely deposited than with the goldsmiths (see p. 604), and the new Bank, having received deposits of money, made a loan to the Crown on the security of a Parliamentary promise that interest should be paid till the capital was returned. The Government was thereby put in possession of sufficient resources to enable it to carry on the war successfully. This would not have happened unless moneyed men had been

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confident in the stability of William's government and of Parliamentary institutions.

22. **The Place Bill. 1694.**—Useful as the concentration of power in the hands of the Whig Junto was, it raised alarm lest the ministers should become too strong. The system of winning votes in Parliament by corruption was on the increase, and the favourite device of a minister in need of support was to give to a member of the House of Commons a place revocable at the pleasure of the Crown, and thereby to bind him by self-interest to vote as the minister pleased. This system, bad enough when the ministers were of different parties, became intolerable when they were all of one party, and it now seemed possible that the Whig Junto might keep itself permanently in office by the votes which it purchased. Independent members, indeed, had from time to time introduced a Place Bill, making it illegal for any member of the House of Commons to hold not merely small offices unconnected with politics, but even the great ministerial posts, such as those of a Secretary of State or a Chancellor of the Exchequer; but the influence of the ministers had been too strong for them, and they were no more successful in **1694** than they had been in former years.

23. **The Second Triennial Act. 1694.**—Another grievance was actually removed in **1694**. As the law then stood a king who had a Parliament to his mind might retain it to his death, even if the feelings of the nation had undergone a complete change, as had been the case in the course of the seventeen and a half years during which Charles II. retained the Cavalier Parliament. By the Triennial Act of **1694** it was enacted that no Parliament should last longer than three years. It was, therefore, quite different from the Triennial Act of **1641** (see p. 530), which enacted that a Parliament should be summoned at least once in three years.

24. **Death of Mary. 1694.**—Scarcely was the Triennial Act passed when Queen Mary was attacked by the small-pox, and in those days, when vaccination had not yet been discovered, the ravages caused by the small-pox were enormous. The physicians soon assured William that there was no hope. He was stern and self-contained in the presence of most men, but he was warmly affectionate to the few whom he really loved. His grief was now heart-rending: "There is no hope," he said to one of the bishops. "I was the happiest man on earth, and I am the most miserable. She had no fault—none: you knew her well, but you could not know—nobody but myself could know—her goodness." The

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it. The French had never lost a battle or a fortified town during fifty-two years, but at last their career of victory was checked.

3. **The Restoration of the Currency and the Treason-Trials Act. 1696.**—At home Charles Montague, with the assistance of Sir Isaac Newton, the great mathematician and astronomer, succeeded in restoring the currency. Coins, up to that time, had been usually struck with smooth edges, and rogues had been in the habit of clipping off thin flakes of gold or silver as they passed through their hands. The result was that sixpences or shillings were seldom worth their full value. There were constant quarrels over every payment. New coins were now issued with milled edges, so that it would be impossible for anyone to clip them without being detected. The act authorising the re-coinage was followed by another, allowing persons accused of treason to have lawyers to plead for them in court; a permission which, up to this time, had been refused.

4. **Ministerial Corruption. 1695—1696.**—In spite of the success of William's government, there were in existence grave causes of dissatisfaction with the state of affairs. Corruption reigned amongst those whose influence was worth selling. In 1695 the Duke of Leeds—better known by his earlier title of Danby—was found guilty of taking a bribe, and it was well known that even ministers who did not take bribes became wealthy by means of gifts received for their services, as, indeed, ministers had done in former reigns. What was worse still, English ministers had, almost from the beginning of William's reign, endeavoured to make their position sure in the event of a counter-revolution, by professing allegiance to James whilst they remained in the service of William. At one time Marlborough had been guilty of even greater baseness, having sent to James information of an English expedition against Brest, in consequence of which the expedition was driven off with heavy loss, and its commander, Talmash, slain. No wonder William trusted his Dutch servants as he trusted no English ones, and that he sought to reward them by grants which, according to precedents set by earlier Kings, he held himself entitled to make out of the property of the Crown. Bentinck, to whom he was especially attached, he had made Earl of Portland; but when, in 1696, he proposed to give him a large estate in Wales, the Commons remonstrated, and Portland declined the gift.

5. **The Assassination Plot. 1696.**—From the unpopularity which attached itself to William in consequence of these pro-

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queen died, but she left a memorial behind her. Charles II. had begun to build a magnificent palace at Greenwich. When the news of the Battle of La Hogue reached England, Mary announced her intention of completing the palace as a place of refuge for sailors disabled in the service of their country. Greenwich Hospital is the lasting monument of the gentle queen.

CHAPTER XLIII

WILLIAM III (*alone*). 1694—1702

LEADING DATES

William III., 1689—1702

The Liberty of the Press	1695
The Assassination Plot	1696
Treaty of Ryswick	1697
The First Partition Treaty	1698
The Second Partition Treaty	1700
Death of Charles II. of Spain	Nov. 1, 1700
The Act of Settlement	1701
Death of James II.	Sept. 6, 1701
The Grand Alliance	Sept. 7, 1701
Death of William III.	March 8, 1702

1. **The Liberty of the Press. 1695.**—Ever since the Restoration, except for a short interval, there had been a series of licensing acts, authorising the Crown to appoint a licenser, without whose leave no book or newspaper could be published. In **1695** the House of Commons refused to renew the Act, and the press suddenly became free. The House does not seem to have had any idea of the importance of this step, and established the liberty of the press simply because the licensers had given a good deal of annoyance. Yet what they did would hardly have been done twenty years before. The Toleration Act, allowing men to worship as they pleased, and to preach as they pleased, had brought about a state of mind which was certain, before long, to lead to the permission to men to print what they pleased.

2. **The Surrender of Namur. 1695.**—The campaign of **1695**, in the Netherlands, was marked by William's first success. His financial resources were now far greater than those of Louis, and he took Namur, though a French army was in the field to relieve

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when he went out hunting from Hampton Court, he returned by a narrow lane, and that he usually had with him only twenty-five guards. They thought it would be easy work to spring into the lane and shoot him. The plot was, however, betrayed, and some

Part of Hampton Court; built for William III. by Sir Christopher Wren.

of the plotters were executed. The discovery of this design to assassinate William made him once more popular. In imitation of what had been done when Elizabeth's life was in danger (see p. 456), the greater part of the Lords and Commons bound themselves by an association to defend William's government,

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and to support the succession of the Princess Anne in the event of his death. The form of this association was circulated in the country, and signed by thousands.

6. **The Peace of Ryswick. 1697.**—Since the taking of Namur there had been no more fighting. In **1697** a general peace was signed at Ryswick. Louis gave up all the conquests which he had made in the war, and acknowledged William as king. William had, for the first time, the satisfaction of bringing to a close a war from which his great antagonist had gained no advantage. France was impoverished and England was prosperous. As Louis had said, the last gold piece had won (see p. 659). William returned thanks for the peace in the new St. Paul's built by Sir Christopher Wren in place of the old cathedral destroyed in the great fire (see p. 592).

7. **Reduction of the Army. 1698—1699.**—Scarcely was the war at an end when a controversy broke out between William and the House of Commons. William knew that the larger the armed force which England could maintain, the more chance there was that Louis would keep the peace which he had been forced to sign. The Commons, on the other hand, were anxious to diminish the expenditure, and were specially jealous of the existence of a large standing army which might be used, as it had been used by Cromwell, to establish an absolute government. Many Whigs deserted the ministers and joined the Tories on this point. In January **1698**, the army was reduced to 10,000 men. In December it was reduced to 7,000. In March **1699**, William was compelled to dismiss his Dutch guards. His irritation was so great that it was with the greatest difficulty that he was held back from abdicating the throne.

8. **Signature and Failure of the First Partition Treaty. 1698—1699.**—In the meanwhile, William was engaged in a delicate negotiation. It was well known that, whenever Charles II. of Spain died, Louis XIV. would claim the Spanish monarchy for one of his own family in right of his wife, Charles's eldest sister, Maria Theresa, whilst the Emperor Leopold would also claim it for himself or for one of his sons in the right of his mother, Maria, the aunt of Charles, on the ground that she was the only one amongst the sisters and aunts of Charles II. who had not renounced the succession. His own first wife Margaret Theresa, and Louis's wife Maria Theresa, who were both sisters of the King of Spain, as well as Louis's mother Anne, had all, on their respective marriages, abandoned their claims. It was unlikely that either France or

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Austria would submit without compulsion to see the territories of its rival increased so largely; and in **1698**, William, hoping to avert a war, signed a secret Partition Treaty with Louis. According to this treaty the bulk of the Spanish monarchy was to be assigned

West front of St. Paul's Cathedral church; built by Sir Christopher Wren.

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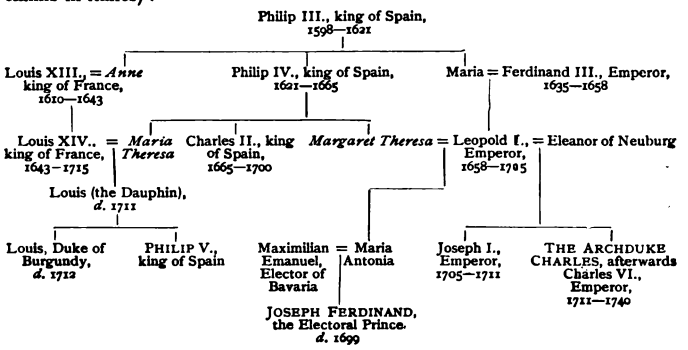
to a young man whose own territories were too small to give umbrage either to France or to Austria if he added to them those of the Spanish monarchy. This young man was the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, the grandson of Leopold by his first wife, Charles's sister Margaret Theresa,[1] whilst small portions of the territory under the Spanish Crown were to be allotted respectively to Louis's eldest son, the Dauphin, and to the Archduke Charles, the younger of Leopold's two sons by a second wife. Unfortunately, the death of the Electoral Prince in February **1699** overset this arrangement and enormously increased the difficulty of satisfying both France and Austria, especially as it was just at this time that Parliament reduced William's army to 7,000 men (see p. 667), thus leading Louis to suppose that he might defy England with impunity.

9. **Break-up of the Whig Junto. 1699.**—In home affairs, too, William was in considerable difficulty. When he had brought together the Whig Junto, he had done so because he found it convenient, not because he thought of binding himself never to keep ministers in office unless they were supported by a majority in the House of Commons. The modern doctrine that for ministers to remain in office after a serious defeat in the House of Commons is injurious both to themselves and to the public service had not yet been heard of, and this lesson, like so many others, had to be learned by experience. Again and again in the debates on the reduction of the army the ministers had been outvoted. The House also found fault with the administration of the Admiralty by Russell, who in **1697** had been created Earl of Orford, and appointed a

[1] Genealogy of the claimants of the Spanish monarchy (the names of the claimants are in capitals, and the names of princesses who had renounced their claims in italics) :—



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commission, in defiance of the ministers, to take into consideration certain extensive grants of forfeited estates in Ireland which had been made by William to his favourites. Though William failed to perceive the impossibility of governing satisfactorily with ministers who had against them a joint majority composed of Tories and discontented Whigs, those who were personally affected by its attacks readily perceived the danger into which they were running. In the course of **1699** Orford and Montague resigned their offices. William fell back upon his original system of combining Whigs and Tories. The Whigs, however, still preponderated, especially as Somers, the wisest statesman of the day, remained Lord Chancellor.

10. **The Irish Grants and the Fall of Somers. 1700.**—After the reduction of Ireland large tracts of land had fallen to the Crown, and William had made grants out of them to persons whom he favoured, especially to persons of foreign origin. Amongst these were brave foreign soldiers like Ginkell and Ruvigny (see p. 656), now Earls of Athlone and Galway, as well as mere personal favourites, such as Elizabeth Villiers, who had, many years before, been William's mistress. In **1700**, however, the Commons proposed to annul all William's Irish grants. Besides this the House proposed to grant away some of the estates to favourites of their own, and declared land forfeited which in law had never been forfeited at all. As the Lords resisted the latter parts of this scheme, the Commons invented a plan for coercing them. They tacked their bill, about Irish forfeitures to their grant of supplies for the year; that is to say, made it part of the bill by which the supplies were given to the Crown. As the peers were not allowed to alter a money bill, they must accept or reject the whole, including the provisions made by the Commons about the Irish forfeitures. William foresaw that, in the heated temper of the Commons, they would throw the whole government into confusion rather than give way, and at his instance the Lords succumbed. The victory of the Commons brought into evidence their power of beating down the resistance both of the king and of the House of Lords, but it was a victory marred by the intemperateness of their conduct, and by the injustice of some of the provisions for which they contended. Fierce attacks had also been made in the House of Commons on Somers, and William ordered Somers to resign. The principle that ministers with whom the House of Commons is dissatisfied cannot remain in office was thus established.

11. **The Darien Expedition. 1698—1700.**—It was not in Eng-

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land only that William met with resistance. The commerce of Scotland was small, and Scotchmen were excluded from all share in the English trading companies. Paterson, who had been the originator of the Bank of England, urged his countrymen to settle in Darien, as the Isthmus of Panama was then called, where, placed as they would be between two oceans, they would, as he told them, have the trade of the world in their hands. Forgetting not only that Darien was claimed by Spain, but that its climate was exceedingly unhealthy, Scotchmen of all ranks joined eagerly in a company which was to acquire this valuable position. In **1698** and **1699** two expeditions sailed to take possession of the isthmus. By the spring of **1700** most of those who had set out with the highest hopes had perished of disease, whilst the few who remained alive had been expelled by the Spaniards. All Scotland threw the blame of the disaster on William, because he had not embroiled England in war with Spain to defend these unauthorised intruders on her domain.

12. **The Second Partition Treaty. 1700.**—In the spring of **1700**, whilst the weakness and unpopularity of William were being published to the world, he concluded a second partition treaty with Louis. The Archduke Charles was to be king of Spain, of the Spanish Netherlands, and of all the Spanish colonies; France was to have Guipuscoa, on the Spanish shore of the Bay of Biscay, and all the Spanish possessions in Italy, though Louis declared his intention of abandoning the Duchy of Milan to the Duke of Lorraine in exchange for Lorraine. The proposal of this Treaty came from Louis, who certainly had very little idea of carrying it into effect, whilst the Emperor, who would gain much by it for his son, the Archduke Charles, refused his consent, perhaps thinking that it was of little importance to him to place his son on the throne of Spain, if Italy, which lay so much nearer to his own hereditary dominions, was to be abandoned to the French.

13. **Deaths of the Duke of Gloucester and of the King of Spain. 1700.**—Two deaths, which occurred in **1700**, affected the politics of England and Europe for some time to come. Anne had had several children, all of whom died young, the last of them, the Duke of Gloucester, dying on July 29 in this year. The question of the succession to the throne after Anne's death was thus thrown open. Charles II. of Spain died on November 1. Louis had long been intriguing for his inheritance, and his intrigues had been successful. Charles, before he died, left by will the whole of his dominions to Louis's grandson, Philip, hereafter to be known as Philip V., king

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of Spain. Louis accepted the inheritance, and threw to the winds the Partition Treaty which he had made with William.

14. **A Tory Ministry. 1700—1701.**—It seemed as if the chief work of William's life had been undone, and that France would domineer over Europe unchecked. In England there was but little desire to engage in a new war, and, before the end of **1700**, William was obliged to appoint a Tory ministry. There was a Tory majority in the new Parliament which met on February 6, **1701**. The great majority of the Tories had by this time thrown off their belief in the indefeasible Divine right of kings, and acknowledged William without difficulty. Their chief political ideas were the maintenance of peace abroad, and the pre-eminence of the Church of England at home, though they—more or less thoroughly—accepted the Toleration Act. Their main supporters were the country gentlemen and the country clergy, whilst the Whigs, who supported William in his desire for a war with France, and who took under their patronage the Dissenters, were upheld by the great landowners, and by the commercial class in the towns.

15. **The Act of Settlement and the Succession. 1701.**—The first work of the Tory Parliament was the Act of Settlement. By this Act the succession was settled, after Anne's death, on Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and her descendants. She was the daughter of Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia (see pp. 488, 490), and was thus the granddaughter of James I. The principle on which the selection rested was that she was the nearest Protestant heir, all the living descendants of Charles I., except William and Anne, being Roman Catholics.

16. **The Act of Settlement and the Crown. 1701.**—The view that the nation had a right to fix the succession was now accepted by the Tories as fully as by the Whigs; but the Tories, seeing that William was inclined to trust their opponents more than themselves, now went beyond the Whigs in their desire to restrict the powers of the Crown. By the Tory Act of Settlement the future Hanoverian sovereign was (1) to join in the Communion of the Church of England; (2) not to declare war without consent of Parliament on behalf of territories possessed by him on the Continent, and (3) not to leave the three kingdoms without consent of Parliament—an article which was repealed in the first year of George I. A stipulation (4) that no pardon under the great seal was to be pleadable in bar of impeachment, was intended to prevent William or his successors from protecting ministers against Parliament, as Charles II. had attempted to do

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in Danby's case (see p. 617). A further stipulation was (5) that after Anne's death no man, unless born in England or of English parents abroad, should sit in the Privy Council or in Parliament, or hold office or lands granted him by the Crown. These five articles all sprang from jealousy of a foreign sovereign. A sixth, enacting (6) that the judges should, henceforward, hold their places as long as they behaved well, but might be removed on an address from both Houses of Parliament, was an improvement in the constitution, irrespective of all personal considerations. It has prevented, ever since, the repetition of the scandal caused by James II. when he changed some of the judges for the purpose of getting a judgment in his own favour (see p. 639).

17. **The Act of Settlement and the Ministers. 1701.**—There were two other articles in the Act, of which one (7) declared that, under the future Hanoverian sovereign, all matters proper to the Privy Council should be transacted there, and that all resolutions taken in it should be signed by those councillors who assented to them; whilst the other (8) embodied the provisions of the rejected Place Bill (see p. 661), to the effect that no one holding a place or pension from the Crown should sit in the House of Commons. Both these articles were directed, not so much against the Crown as against the growing power of the ministers. At this time, indeed, the prevailing wish of the country squires who made up the bulk of the Tory party was to make the House of Commons effectively, as well as in name, predominant; and they therefore watched with alarm the growth of the power of the Cabinet, as the informal meetings of the ministers who directed the affairs of the kingdom were now called. As the Cabinet, unlike the old Privy Council, kept no record of its proceedings, the Tories were alarmed lest its members should escape responsibility, and should also, by offering places and pensions to their supporters in the House, contrive to secure a majority in it, even when they had the greater number of independent members against them. The article relating to the Privy Council was, however, repealed early in the next reign, as it was found that no one was willing to give advice if he was liable to be called in question and punished for giving it, so that the system of holding private Cabinet meetings where advice could be given without fear of consequences was not long interrupted. The article for excluding placemen and pensioners, on the other hand, merely overshot the mark, and in the next reign it was so modified that only holders of new places created subsequently to 1705 were excluded from the House, as well as persons who held pensions revocable at the

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pleasure of the Crown; whilst all members accepting old places were to vacate their seats, and to appeal for re-election to a constituency if they thought fit to do so. Subsequent legislation went farther and disqualified persons holding many of the old places from sitting in parliament, with the general result that, whilst the holders of pensions and smaller places are now excluded from the House of Commons, the important ministers of the Crown are allowed to sit there, thereby keeping up that close connection between ministers and Parliament which is so efficacious in promoting a good understanding between them.

18. **The Tory Foreign Policy. 1701.**—In foreign policy the Tories blamed William and the Whigs for concluding the Partition Treaties. France and Spain, they held, would still be mutually jealous of one another, even though Louis sat on the throne of France and his grandson on the throne of Spain, whereas the territory which, according to the second treaty, would have been actually annexed to France, would have given to Louis exorbitant influence in Europe. Accordingly they impeached the leading Whigs, Somers, Portland, Orford, and Montague, who had lately become Lord Halifax. The impeached peers were, however, supported by the House of Lords, and nothing could be done against them. If only Louis had behaved with ordinary prudence, the peace policy of the Tories would have carried the day. He seemed, however, resolved to show that he meant to dispose of the whole of the forces of both monarchies. There was a line of fortified towns, known as the barrier fortresses, raised on the southern frontier of the Spanish Netherlands, to defend them against France, at a time when France and Spain were hostile. As the Spanish Government had lately shown itself incapable of keeping fortresses in repair or of providing them with sufficient garrisons, it had been agreed that half of each garrison should be composed of Dutch soldiers. Early in **1701**, Louis, with the assistance of the Spanish half of each garrison, got possession of every one of these fortresses in a single night, turned out the Dutch, and replaced them by French soldiers. For all military purposes the Spanish Netherlands might as well have been under the immediate government of Louis.

19. **The Kentish Petition. 1701.**—To the Dutch the possibility of a French army advancing without hindrance to their frontier was extremely alarming; while in England there had always been a strong feeling against the occupation by the French of the coast opposite the mouth of the Thames. Louis's interference in the Netherlands therefore did something to rouse a warlike spirit in

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England. In April a petition to the House of Commons was drawn up by the gentlemen of Kent and presented by five of their number. This Kentish Petition asked the Commons to support the king and to 'turn their loyal addresses into Bills of supply.' The House sent the five who brought the petition to the Tower, on the plea that the constituencies had done their work when they had elected their members, and had no right to influence the proceedings of the House when once the elections had been completed. As the Tories had defended the authority of the House against the ministers, so they now defended it against the electors.

20. **The Grand Alliance. 1701.**—William saw that the feeling of the country would soon be on the side of war. Having obtained the consent, even of the Tory House of Commons, to defensive measures, he raised new troops and sent 10,000 men to protect the Dutch against any attack which Louis might make upon them. At the head of this force he placed Marlborough, whom he had again taken into favour (see p. 658). In September he advanced a step farther. War had already broken out in Italy between France and Spain on the one side, and the Emperor Leopold, as ruler of the Austrian dominions, on the other. Both William and the Dutch would have been glad of a compromise with Louis, and would have left Spain to Philip V. if Leopold could have part, at least, of the Spanish dominions in Italy. Louis would hear of no compromise, and on September 7 William signed the Grand Alliance, as it was called, between England, Austria, and the Dutch Republic; of which the objects were to restore to the Dutch the control of the barrier fortresses, to secure to Leopold the Italian possessions of Spain, and to provide that the Crowns of France and Spain should never be united.

21. **Death of James II. 1701.**—The day before this treaty was signed James II. died in France. Louis at once acknowledged as king his son, the child who had been held in England to be supposititious, and who was afterwards known as the Pretender by his enemies, and as James III. by his friends. At once all England burst into a storm of indignation against Louis, for having dared to acknowledge as king of England a boy whose title had been rejected by the English Parliament and nation. William seized the opportunity and dissolved the Tory Parliament. A new Parliament was returned with a small Whig majority. It passed an Act ordering all persons holding office to take an oath of abjuration of the Pretender's title, and raised the army to 40,000 men, granting at the same time a considerable sum for the navy.

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22. **Death of William.** 1702.—Early in 1702 William was looking forward to taking the command in the war which was beginning. On February 20 his horse stumbled over a mole-hill in Hampton Park. He fell, and broke his collar bone. He lingered for some days, and, on March 8, he died. His work, if not accomplished, was at least in a fair way of being accomplished. His main object in life had been to prevent Louis from domineering in Europe, whilst the maintenance of the constitutional liberties of England had been with him only a secondary object. That he succeeded in what he undertook against Louis was owing, primarily, to the self-sufficiency and obstinacy, first of Louis himself and then of James II.; but all the blunders of his adversaries would have availed him little if he had not himself been possessed of invincible patience and of the tact which perceives the line which divides the practicable from the impracticable. That he was a Continental statesman with Continental aims stood in the way of his popularity in England. His merit was that, being aware how necessary English support was to him on the Continent, he recognised that his only hope of securing the help of England lay in persistent devotion to her domestic interests and her constitutional liberties; and that devotion, in spite of some blunders and some weaknesses, he uninterruptedly gave to her during the whole course of his reign.

CHAPTER XLIV

ANNE. 1702—1714

LEADING DATES

Accession of Anne	1702
Battle of Blenheim	1704
Battle of Ramillies	1706
Union with Scotland	1707
Battles of Almanza and Oudenarde	1708
Battle of Malplaquet	1709
The Sacheverell Trial	1710
Battles of Brihuega and Villa Viciosa	1710
Dismissal of Marlborough and Creation of Twelve Peers	1711
Treaty of Utrecht	1713
Death of Anne	1714

1. **Marlborough and the Tories.** 1702.—Anne was a good-hearted woman of no great ability, warmly attached to the Church of England, and ready to support it in its claims against the

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Dissenters. She therefore preferred the Tories to the Whigs, and filled all the ministerial offices with Tories. Marlborough, who, through his wife, had boundless influence over the Queen, found it expedient to declare himself a Tory, though he had little sympathy

Queen Anne ; from a portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller

with the extravagances of the extreme members of that party, and wanted merely to have a firm Government which would support him in his military enterprises. His chief ally was Lord Godolphin, to whose son one of his daughters was married. Godolphin was

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Lord Treasurer, and, being an excellent financier, was likely to be able to find the money needed for a great war. He was also a fitting man to keep the ministers from quarrelling with one another. He had frequently been in office, and he liked official work better than party strife. "Little Sidney Godolphin," Charles II. had once said of him, "is never in the way, and never out of the way," and this character he retained to the end.

2. **Louis XIV. and Marlborough. 1702.**—As far as the war and foreign affairs were concerned, Marlborough was the true successor of William III. The difficulties with which he had to contend were, indeed, enormous. Louis XIV., at the opening of the war, had a fine military position. His flanks were guarded by the possession of the Spanish Netherlands on the left and of Spain itself on the right, whilst an alliance which he formed with the Elector of Bavaria gave him military command of a tract of land accessible without much difficulty from his own territory. This tract, on the one hand, enabled a French army to make an easy attack on the Austrian dominions beyond the Inn, whilst on the other hand it divided the forces of the allies into two parts, cutting off the Austrian army in Italy, under Prince Eugene, from the English and Dutch armies in the Netherlands, both of which were under the command of Marlborough. Louis was, moreover, the sole master of all his armies, and could easily secure obedience to his orders. Marlborough had the more difficult task of securing obedience, not only from the English and Dutch armies, but from the numerous contingents sent by the German princes, most of whom now joined the Grand Alliance. The most important of these princes was Frederick I., the Elector of Brandenburg, who had been made by the Emperor king of Prussia, in order to induce him to join the allies. To the difficult task of guiding this heterogeneous following, Marlborough brought not only a consummate military genius far transcending that of William, but a temper as imperturbable as William's own.

3. **Marlborough's First Campaign in the Netherlands. 1702–1703.**—Marlborough's aim was to break Louis's power in South Germany, but he knew better than to attempt this at once. The French held the fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands and of the Rhine-country, covering the roads by which the Dutch territory could be assailed with advantage on its eastern and south-eastern sides; and, as long as this was the case, it was certain that the Dutch would not allow their army to go far from home. Marlborough therefore devoted the two campaigns of **1702** and **1703** to

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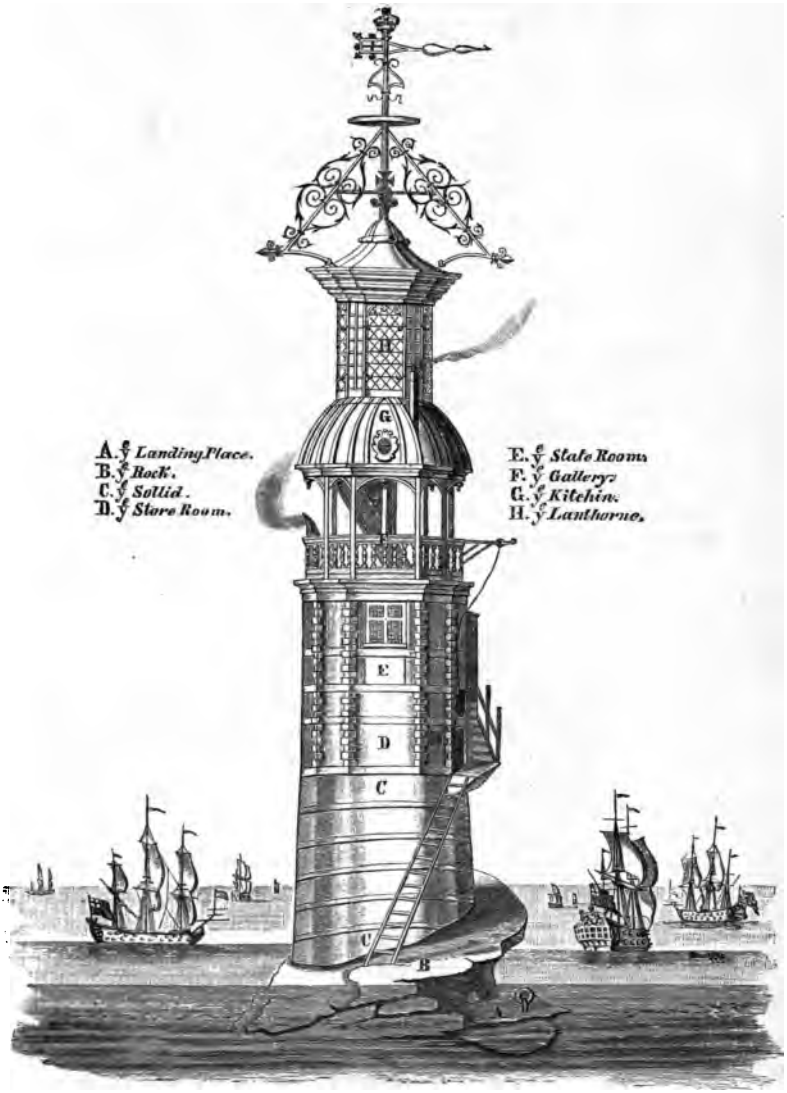

The first Eddystone Lighthouse, erected in 1697; destroyed in 1703

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freeing the Dutch from this danger. In these two years he took Kaiserswerth and Bonn, on the Rhine, and Roermonde, Liège and Huy on the Meuse. The roads by which a French army could approach the Dutch frontier were thus barred against attack.

4. **The Occasional Conformity Bill. 1702—1703.**—At the close of the campaign of **1702** Marlborough was created a duke. He spent the winter in England, where he found Parliament busy with an Occasional Conformity Bill, the object of which was to inflict penalties upon Dissenters who, having received the sacrament in church in order to qualify themselves for office, attended their own chapels during the tenure of the office thus obtained. The queen, the High Tories, and most of the clergy were eager to prevent such an evasion of the Test Act, especially as the Dissenters who occasionally conformed were Whigs to a man. The Bill passed the Commons, where the Tories were a majority. It failed to satisfy the House of Lords, in which the majority was Whig. In the next session, at the end of **1703**, the Bill again passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. Though Marlborough and Godolphin voted for it to please the queen, they disliked the measure, as causing ill-will between parties which they wished to unite against the common enemy.

5. **Progress of the War in Italy, Spain and Germany. 1702—1703.**—In **1702** and **1703**, whilst Marlborough was fighting in the Netherlands, Prince Eugene of Savoy, the Austrian commander, and a general of the highest order, had been struggling against the French in Italy. In **1703** he won over the Duke of Savoy from his alliance with Louis, but he could not prevent a great part of the Duke's territory from being overrun by French troops. In the same year Portugal deserted France and joined the allies. By the Methuen Treaty now formed, England attached Portugal to her by community of interests, engaging that the duty on Portuguese wines should be at least one-third less than that on French, whilst Portugal admitted English woollen goods to her market. During the first two years of the war, however, little of military importance took place in any part of the Peninsula. By the end of **1703** the combined forces of the French and Bavarians had gained considerable successes in Germany, and, by the capture of Augsburg, Old Breisach and Landau, had secured the communications between France and Bavaria.

6. **Ministerial Changes. 1703—1704.**—Before Marlborough could assail Louis' position in Germany he had to make sure of his own position at home. The High Tories weakened him not only by

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alienating the Dissenters, but by their lukewarmness about the war. Their leaders, the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham, held that the war ought to be mainly carried on at sea and to be purely defensive on land, and had no sympathy with Marlborough in his design of destroying the predominance of Louis in Europe. Early in **1703** Marlborough found an opportunity of getting rid of Rochester. In the spring of **1704** he came into collision with Nottingham. There was a rising of the Protestant subjects of Louis in the Cevennes, usually known as the rising of the Camisards, because they fought with their shirts over their clothes. Marlborough was anxious to assist them, but was thwarted by Nottingham, who held it to be wrong, in any case, to support rebellion. Nottingham was accordingly dismissed, and the vacant places were filled by Harley and St. John. Both of the new ministers called themselves moderate Tories. Harley was an influential member of Parliament, with a talent for intrigue and a love of middle courses. St. John, profligate in his life, was the most brilliant orator and the ablest and most unscrupulous politician of the day. A few Whigs, of no great note, also received places. It was Marlborough's policy to

Steeple of St. Bride's, Fleet Street, London; built by Sir Christopher Wren, 1701–1703.

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secure the support of a body of ministers who would avoid irritating anyone, and would thus help him in his military designs. An attempt made by the High Tories in the Commons to force the Lords to accept the Occasional Conformity Bill, by tacking it (see p. 670) to a Bill for a land tax, was defeated with the help of Harley and St. John.

7. **The Campaign of Blenheim. 1704.**—The campaign of 1704 was likely to be a critical one. The French and Bavarians intended to push on to Vienna and to compel the Emperor to separate himself from his allies. Marlborough, perceiving that if the French were allowed to carry their project into execution they would become the masters of Europe, anticipated them by marching to the Upper Danube, carrying with him the Dutch army in spite of the reluctance of the Dutch Government. Having effected a junction with the Austrian commander Prince Eugene, and with Louis of Baden who was at the head of the forces of other German states, the combined armies stormed the Schellenberg, a hill over Donauwörth, and then devastated Bavaria. A French army under Marshal Tallard hastened to the aid of the Elector of Bavaria. Marlborough and Eugene, between whom no jealousies ever arose, turned round, and utterly defeated Tallard at Blenheim. It was Marlborough's genius which had foreseen the surprising results of a victory on the Danube. His success marks the end of a period of French military superiority in Europe. The French had won every battle in which they had been engaged since 1643, when they defeated the Spaniards at Rocroi. It was, however, something more than prestige which was lost by France. The whole of the territory of the Duke of Bavaria, the most important German ally of Louis, was at the mercy of the allies, and before the end of the year scarcely a vestige of French authority was left in Germany. Marlborough received a grant of the manor of Woodstock, on which the huge and ungraceful pile which bears the name of Blenheim was built for him at the public expense.

8. **Operations in Spain. 1704—1705.**—In 1704 the Archduke Charles, assuming the name of Charles III. of Spain, landed at Lisbon. The Spaniards regarded him as a foreign intruder, whilst they cherished Philip V. as if he had been their native king. The first foothold which Charles acquired in Spain was at Gibraltar, which surrendered in August to the English admiral, Sir George Rooke. In 1705 the French and Spaniards tried in vain to retake the fortress. The most important success of the allies in 1705 was the capture of Barcelona—an achievement of which the chief merit

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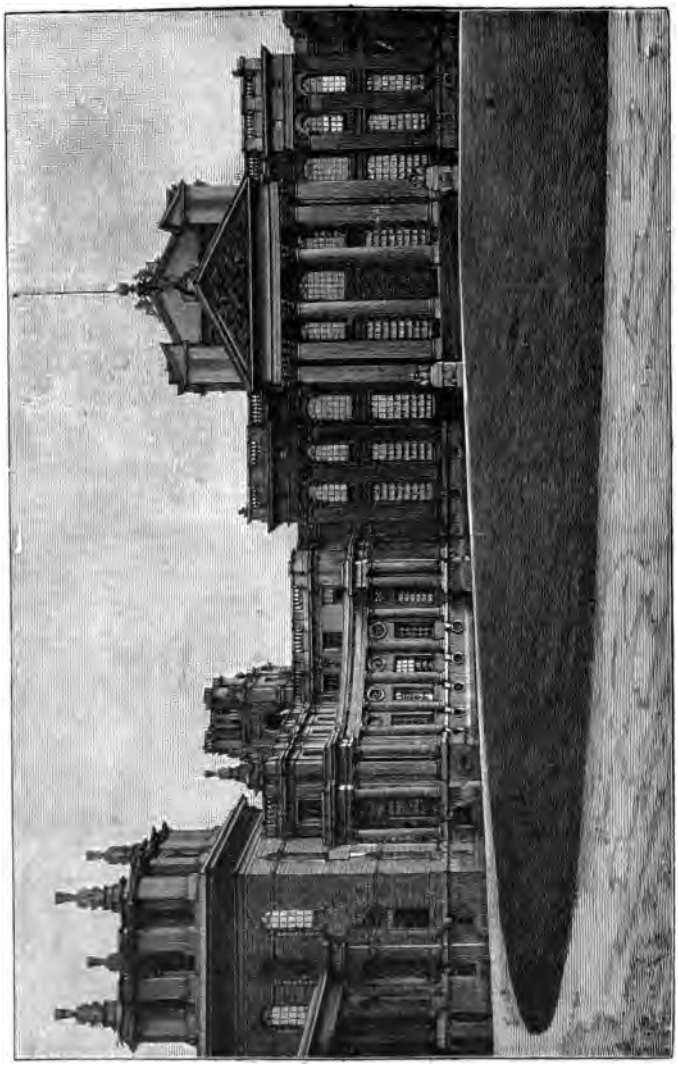

Part of Blenheim : built by Vanbrugh in 1704

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belongs to the English commander, the eccentric Lord Peterborough, whose brilliant conceptions were too often thrown away by his ignorance of that art in which Marlborough excelled, the art of courteously overlooking the defects of others. The importance of Barcelona arose from its being the chief place in Catalonia, a province which clung to its local independence, and which vigorously espoused the cause of Charles, simply because Philip ruled in Castile. Soon afterwards Valencia was overrun by the allies. In other parts of Europe there were no military events of note. In the course of **1705** the Emperor Leopold I. died, and his son Joseph (the elder brother of the Archduke Charles) succeeded him in the empire as well as in his hereditary dominions.

9. **A Whig Parliament. 1705—1706.**—At home the High Tories raised the cry of "The Church in danger"; but a Whig majority was returned to Parliament, and Marlborough and Godolphin entered into friendly communications with the Whig leaders. One of the results of the understanding arrived at was a compromise on that article in the Act of Settlement which would, after the accession of the House of Hanover, have excluded ministers as well as other placemen from the House of Commons (see p. 673). It was arranged in 1706 that the holding of a pension or of an office created after October 25, **1705**, should disqualify, whilst all other offices should be compatible with a seat, provided that the holder, at the time of his appointment, presented himself for a fresh election.

10. **The Campaign of 1706 in the Netherlands and in Italy. 1706.**—In May, **1706**, Marlborough won a second great victory at Ramillies, and before long, except that they continued to hold a few isolated fortresses, the French were swept out of the Spanish Netherlands as they had been swept out of Germany in **1704**. In September, Eugene came to the succour of the Duke of Savoy, defeated the French who were besieging Turin, and drove their armies out of Italy.

11. **Campaign of 1706 in Spain. 1706.**—In Spain the success of the allies was less unmixed. Barcelona indeed beat off a French besieging army, and the old Huguenot refugee Ruvigny, now known as the Earl of Galway (see p. 670), marched from Portugal and occupied Madrid in June; but the Portuguese under his command left him in order to plunder, and, before the end of July, he learnt that the French commander, the Duke of Berwick (the illegitimate son of James II. by Marlborough's sister, Arabella Churchill), had received ample reinforcements. As all the country

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round was hostile, Galway had nothing for it but to leave Madrid. In August he was joined by the Archduke Charles and Peterborough, though the latter soon afterwards betook himself to Italy on diplomatic service. When Peterborough afterwards returned to Spain, all authority had slipped out of his hands. Galway, unable to maintain himself in Castile, retreated to Valencia. Whilst he had been in the interior, Aragon had declared for Charles, and Alicante had been captured by an English fleet.

12. **The Union with Scotland.** **1702—1707.**—Far more important to England than all that was taking place in Spain was the conclusion of the Union with Scotland. In **1702** Commissioners had met to discuss its terms. The Scots had naturally been anxious for freedom of trade and equality of commercial privileges. As the English were unwilling to grant this, the Scottish Parliament, in **1703**, retorted by an Act of Security, providing that the successor to the Scottish crown, after the queen's death, should not be the same person as the successor to the crown of England. In **1704**, in consequence of the defiant attitude of Scotland, the queen was forced to give the royal assent to the Act of Security. What the Scots virtually meant by it was, that England must make her choice either to accept Scotland as an equal partner with full equality of benefits and rights, or must have her as an alienated neighbour with a national sovereign of her own, capable of renewing that ancient league with France which had cost England so dear in earlier times. England retaliated with an enactment that Scotchmen, coming to England, should no longer enjoy the privileges to which they were entitled by the decision of the Judges in the case of the *Postnati* (see p. 483), until the Scottish Parliament had settled the succession in the same way that it was settled in England. Godolphin and his fellow-ministers were, however, too wise to prolong this war of threats. They gave way on free trade and commercial equality, and in **1707** the union of the two nations and the two Parliaments was finally accepted on both sides Forty-five members of the House of Commons

Royal Arms as borne by Anne.

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were to be chosen by Scottish constituencies, and the Scottish peers were to elect sixteen of their own number to sit in the House of Lords. Scotland maintained her own Church, her own law, and the control of her own fortresses. She remained a nation in heart, voluntarily merging her legislative authority in that of the neighbouring nation.

13. **The Irish Penal Laws.**—It would have been well both for England and Ireland if the Irish race had been capable of enforcing its claims even to a just and lenient treatment by its masters. Unfortunately the Irish population, beaten in war and deprived of its natural leaders by the emigration of its most vigorous soldiers, was subjected to the Parliament of the British Protestant colony. In spite of the terms made at Limerick (see p. 657), the Parliament at Dublin, after excluding Catholics from its benches, passed laws of which the result was to make well-nigh intolerable the position of the professors of the religion of at least three-fourths of the inhabitants of Ireland. Catholic landowners were impoverished by an enforced partition of their lands amongst their sons, and by the enactment that if a single son turned Protestant the whole of the inheritance was to pass to him. Catholic children, upon the death of their fathers, were entrusted to Protestant guardians, who were directed to bring them up as Protestants. A Catholic priest who converted a Protestant to his faith was to be imprisoned, and one who celebrated a marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant was to be hanged. Oaths were imposed on the priests which no conscientious Catholic could take, and each priest who refused the oath was to be banished, and, if he returned to Ireland, was to forfeit his life. Any persons refusing to give evidence which might lead to the detection of such priests were liable to imprisonment or fine. In addition to these and other similar enactments, the Irishman who was true to his religion had to bear the daily scorn and contumely of men of English or Scottish descent and religion, who looked upon him as a being of an inferior race, and scarcely deigned to admit him even to their presence.

14. **Irish Commerce Crushed.**—Though the Parliament in Dublin was allowed to deal thus with the lives and property of those whom its members would have scorned to speak of as their fellow-countrymen, it had to purchase the support of England by submitting to that English commercial monopoly against which the Scots had successfully rebelled. In the reign of Charles II. landowners in Ireland—for the most part Protestant landowners—

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exported cattle to England until the English Parliament absolutely killed this trade by prohibiting the reception at any English port of cattle, sheep, and swine, beef, pork, and mutton, and even of butter and cheese imported from Ireland, lest they should compete with the produce of the English landowner. Debarred from this source of prosperity Ireland made steady progress in woollen manufactures till, in **1699**, the English Parliament forbade the export of woollen goods from Ireland to any country except to England, where they were practically barred out by prohibitive duties, lest their sale should injure the profits of English manufacturers. The ruling race in Ireland was too dependent on the English Parliament to be capable of resisting these enactments.

15. **Gradual Formation of a Whig Ministry. 1705—1708.**— In England power passed gradually into the hands of Whig ministers. In **1705** the Whig Cowper became Lord Chancellor. In **1706** the Earl of Sunderland,[1] Marlborough's son-in-law, became Secretary of State. The queen was strongly averse to Sunderland's promotion, as she looked on the Whigs as enemies of the Church, and Sunderland was the most acrimonious of the Whigs. Moreover, Anne was growing weary of the arrogant temper of the Duchess of Marlborough, and had begun to transfer her confidence to Harley's cousin, Abigail Hill, who became Mrs. Masham in **1707**, a soft-spoken, unpretentious woman, whose companionship was calm and soothing. There was, however, a grave political question at issue as well as a personal one. The Whigs, finding the Tories lukewarm about the war and harsh towards the Dissenters, insisted on the appointment of a compact ministry consisting of Whigs alone. The queen, on the other hand, upheld the doctrine that the choice of ministers depended on herself, and that it was desirable to unite moderate men of both parties in her service. Harley supported her in this view, and, being detected by his colleagues in intriguing against them with the help of Mrs. Masham, was, together with St. John, turned out of office in February, **1708**. By the end of that year the ministry became completely Whig. Marlborough and Godolphin declared themselves to be Whigs, Somers became President of the Council, Wharton Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

16. **Progress of Cabinet Government. 1708.**—In one respect the Whig ministry completed in **1708** resembles that which served William III. under the name of the Whig Junto in **1695**. Both were formed of men of one political opinion: both owed their

[1] Son of the minister of Charles II. and James II.

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influence to the necessity of unity of action in time of war. There was, however, one great difference between the two ministries. The Whig ministry of William III. was formed by the sovereign for his own purposes; whereas the Whig ministry of Anne was

Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough: from a portrait, by Sir G. Kneller, belonging to Earl Spencer, K.G.

formed in defiance of the sovereign. The idea of government by a Cabinet resting on a party majority in Parliament, and forcing its will on the sovereign, originated with the Tory ministers who forced themselves on William III. towards the end of his reign, but it first took definite shape in the Whig ministry of the reign of Anne.

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17. **Progress of the War. 1707—1708.**—There had been nothing to dazzle the eyes of Englishmen in the campaign of **1707**. An attempt to take Toulon, by a joint attack of Prince Eugene on land and of the English navy under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, had

John Churchill first Duke of Marlborough : from a portrait belonging to Earl Spencer, K.G.

failed, and, on the return of the fleet, three English ships were wrecked off the Scilly Isles and the admiral himself drowned. In Spain Galway was defeated at Almanza, and nearer home all the success achieved was that the Pretender, after setting forth to

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invade Scotland with a French force, thought it prudent to return without landing. The campaign of **1708** was of a different character. The Dutch had made themselves disagreeable in the conquered Spanish Netherlands, and the French general, Vendôme, was therefore welcomed by the inhabitants, and took Ghent and Bruges with little difficulty. Marlborough, however, met him at Oudenarde, utterly defeated him, and, before the end of the year, not only retook the places which had been lost, but, advancing on French territory, took Lille after a prolonged siege. In the same year General Stanhope reduced Minorca, an island of importance from the goodness of its harbour, Port Mahon, which formed an excellent basis for naval operations in the Mediterranean.

18. **The Conference at The Hague and the Battle of Malplaquet. 1709.**—In France the peasants were starving, and Louis, in quest of peace, entered on negotiations at The Hague. The allies insisted upon his abandonment not only of portions of his own territory, but upon the surrender by his grandson of the whole of the Spanish monarchy. To all this he agreed, but when he found that, instead of obtaining peace in return, he was only to have a two months' truce, during which he was to join in expelling his grandson from Spain, he drew back. "If I must wage war," he said, "I would rather wage it against my enemies than against my children." No doubt the allies believed that they could not trust Louis really to abandon Philip unless he actually sent an army against him. They were at fault, partly, in being blind to the impossibility of holding Spain in defiance of the Spaniards, partly in neglecting to foresee that the English nation would not long continue to support a war waged for an object which seemed to concern it so little as the possession of the Spanish Peninsula. Finding that nothing more was to be had by negotiation, Louis put forth all his strength. He sent forth a fresh army ill-clothed and half-starved, but resolute to do its utmost for its country's sake. This army was, on September 11, attacked at Malplaquet by the combined forces of Marlborough and Eugene. The allies were again victorious, but they lost 20,000 men, whilst only 12,000 fell on the side of the French.

19. **The Sacheverell Trial. 1710.**—Before another campaign was opened the Whig ministry was tottering to its fall. On November 5, **1709**, a certain Dr. Sacheverell preached in St. Paul's a sermon upholding the doctrine of non-resistance (see p. 611), attacking the Dissenters, reviling toleration, and personally abus-

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ing Godolphin. In spite of Somers's advice to leave Sacheverell alone, the Whig ministers decided to impeach him. What the Whigs wanted was an opportunity for solemnly recording their views on the principles of resistance and toleration established at the Revolution, and such an opportunity they obtained during the impeachment, which occupied the first months of **1710**. Dissenters, however, who were mainly drawn from the middle classes, were no more liked by the mob than they were by the country gentlemen, and their discredit was shared by their protectors the Whigs. When the queen passed there were shouts raised of "God bless your Majesty and the Church. We hope your Majesty is for Dr. Sacheverell." There were riots in the streets, and Dissenters' chapels were sacked and burnt. In the end the Whig House of Lords pronounced Sacheverell guilty, but did not venture to do more than order his sermons to be burnt and himself prohibited from preaching for the next three years. By this sentence which was a virtual defeat of the Whigs and a triumph of the Tories, Sacheverell gained rather than lost by his condemnation. Wherever he went he was uproariously welcomed, and he was consoled for his enforced silence with a well-endowed living.

20. **The Fall of the Whigs.** **1710.**—Anne saw in this outburst a sign that it would now be easy for her to get rid of her ministers. She was the better able to make the attempt, as there were, in the spring of **1710**, fresh conferences for peace at Gertruydenberg, in which it was proposed to solve all difficulties by leaving to Philip some part of the Spanish monarchy other than Spain itself. No general agreement, however, could be obtained, and England seemed to be committed to an interminable war. All the blame of its continuance was unjustly thrown on Marlborough. The queen effected cautiously the change which she was bent on making. Harley, who was her chief adviser, recommended her to revert to the system which had prevailed when he had been last in office (see p. 687), and to form a ministry composed of moderate Whigs and Tories of which the direction should fall to herself.

21. **A Tory Parliament and Ministry.** **1710.**—Harley's plan of a combined ministry fell to the ground. A new House of Commons, elected in **1710**, being strongly Tory, resolved to secure power, permanently if possible, for the country gentry and the country clergy, and to reduce to impotence the wealthy peers, with the merchants and Dissenters who formed the strength of the Whigs. Harley and St. John were compelled by their supporters to form a purely Tory ministry.

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22. **Brihuega and Villa Viciosa.** 1710.—The Tories had no wish to keep up the war except so far as it would serve special English interests, and, in the course of 1710, the danger of being engaged in an endless war in Spain appeared greater than ever. In the summer, indeed, the combined English and Austrian armies defeated the Spaniards at Saragossa, and Charles once more entered Madrid as a conqueror; but, before the end of the year, one of Louis's best generals, Vendôme, was sent to Spain to lead the French and Spanish armies. On December 9 he compelled Stanhope, the English commander, to surrender at Brihuega, and though a battle which he fought on the 10th with the Austrian Staremberg at Villa Viciosa was indecisive, Staremberg was obliged to retreat to Barcelona, leaving all Spain, except Catalonia, in the hands of Philip.

23. **Overtures to France.** 1710—1711.—Even before this bad news reached England, Harley and St. John, without troubling themselves about the interests of their allies, had opened secret negotiations for peace, on the basis of leaving Spain to Philip, and of acquiring for England separately as many advantages as possible. The Tory party had never had much inclination to defend the interests of Europe as a whole, and, at the end of 1710, it might reasonably be doubted whether the interests of Europe as a whole were to be served by prolonging the struggle to place the Archduke Charles on the throne of Spain. The real objection against the conduct of the new ministers was not that they opened negotiations for peace, but that they negotiated after the fashion of conspirators. Not only did they, in 1711, send secret emissaries, first Gautier and afterwards the poet Prior, to treat privately with Louis, but when, in the September of that year, preliminaries were agreed to as a basis for a private understanding between England and France, they actually communicated a false copy of them to the Dutch. By this time, indeed, there was a fresh reason for making peace. The Emperor Joseph I. had died in April without leaving a son, and was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his brother, the Archduke Charles. It might fairly be argued that it was at least as dangerous in 1711 to give the whole of the Spanish dominions to the ruler of the Austrian territories, as it had been in 1702 to give them to the grandson of the king of France.

24. **Literature and Politics.** 1710.—In order to defend their policy the Tory ministers had, on their first accession to power, looked about for literary supporters. In the reign of Anne a literature had arisen in prose and verse which may fairly be de-

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scribed as prosaic. It had nothing of the high imagination which illuminated the pages of the great Elizabethan writers. It was sensible and intelligent, aiming not at rousing the feelings, but at being plainly understood. Addison, in his writings, for instance, mingled criticism with attractive arguments in favour of a morality of common sense, which he addressed to that numerous class which shrank from the high demands of Milton. Addison, like most other writers of the day, was a Whig, the political views of the Whigs having, at that time, a strong hold upon men of intelligence. Writers like Addison exercised considerable influence over the frequenters of the London coffee-houses, where political affairs were discussed. The support of this class, usually spoken of as 'the Town,' was at that time more worth winning than either before or since. As there were no Parliamentary reports, and no speeches on politics delivered in public, only those who lived near the place in which Parliament met could have any knowledge of the details of political action. They gained this knowledge from the lips of the actors, and were able, by their personal conversation, to influence in turn the conduct of the actors themselves. The services of a persuasive writer who had the ear of 'the Town' was therefore coveted by every body of ministers.

25. **Jonathan Swift.**—The writer won over by the Tory ministers was Jonathan Swift. He was unequalled in satirical power, arising from a combination of lucid expression with a habit of regarding the actions of men as springing from the lowest motives. He was a clergyman, and he wished to be a bishop. At first he attached himself to the Whigs. The Whigs, however, were unwilling, or perhaps unable, to give him what he wanted, his writings being of too unclerical a nature; and all that they procured for him was a living in Ireland, which he seldom visited. With personal motives were mingled more creditable reasons for disliking the Whigs. He was devoted to the interests of the Church of England, not as a fosterer of spiritual life, but as a bulwark against what he regarded as the extravagance of the Roman Catholics on the one hand, and of the Dissenters on the other. In the beginning of the reign Anne had made over the tenths and first-fruits of the English clergy, annexed to the Crown by Henry VIII. (see p. 390), to a body of commissioners, who were to use them for the increase of the means of the poorer clergy. Swift wanted to see this grant, usually known as Queen Anne's Bounty, extended to Ireland. The Whig ministers had not only refused this, but had shown signs of intending to give the Dissenters

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a share of political power. Swift was afraid that, if Parliament and public offices were thrown open to Dissenters, there would be again a government as fanatical as that which popular imagina-

Jonathan Swift, D.D., Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin; from the National Portrait Gallery.

tion believed Cromwell's to have been, and it was partly in consequence of this fear that he deserted the Whigs and joined the Tories. His first article in defence of his new allies was written in November 1710. A year later in November 1711, shortly after

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the preliminaries of peace had been signed, appeared *The Conduct of the Allies*. Every action of the Dutch and of the Austrians was traced to mean cupidity, in order that England might be urged to look upon the war as a mere scramble for wealth and power, in which she was entitled to the largest share of the plunder.

26. **The Imperial Election.** 1711.—The English ministers, at least, could not lay claim to any superior morality. In the spring of 1711, although engaged in a secret negotiation with Louis, which led before the end of the year to the signature of preliminaries (see p. 692), they had sent Marlborough to Flanders with loud professions of intending to carry on the war vigorously, and Marlborough, though his wife had just been dismissed from all her posts at Court, set out with the full expectation of striking a decisive blow against the French. In this he failed, mainly for want of proper support from his own Government. On the other hand, the Archduke, now a candidate for the empire, justified Swift's contention by recalling his own troops under Eugene to support his personal claims. In October 1711 he was chosen emperor as Charles VI., after leaving Marlborough with forces quite inadequate to the accomplishment of anything of importance.

27. **The Occasional Conformity Act and the Creation of Peers.** 1711.—When Parliament met on December 7, the Whigs, who at this time had very nearly a majority in the House of Lords, secured one by an unprincipled coalition with Nottingham, one of the strictest of Tories, who was discontented because he was excluded from office. They agreed to vote for the Occasional Conformity Bill (see p. 680), to please him, and he agreed to vote for a warlike policy on the Continent, to please them. The Occasional Conformity Bill therefore became law, whilst the ministerial foreign policy was condemned by the House of Lords. The credit of that House stood high, and, though the ministers had the House of Commons at their back, most of them thought that it would be impossible to defy its censures. Harley, however, who was not easily frightened, persuaded the queen first to dismiss Marlborough from all his offices, and then to create twelve new Tory peers. By this means the ministry secured a majority in that House which had alone opposed them. Apart from the immediate questions of the day, this creation of peers had a wide constitutional significance. Just as the deposition of James II. had made it evident that if king and Parliament pulled different ways it was for the king to give way, so the creation of peers in 1711 made it evident that if the

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two Houses pulled different ways, it was for the House of Lords to give way.

28. **The Armistice and the Treaty of Utrecht. 1712—1713.**—In 1712 the Duke of Ormond, a strong Tory, was sent to command in the Netherlands. After operations had commenced, he received a despatch from St. John not only restraining him from fighting, in consequence of an understanding with France, but directing him to conceal these orders from his Dutch allies. If Ormond had obeyed these orders, he would have exposed the Dutch to inevitable defeat; but he was too much of a gentleman to let his allies attack the enemy in the false belief that they would be assisted by the English, and he therefore saved their army by disclosing his secret instructions. The negotiations with France were now pushed on. Shabby as the conduct of the ministers was, they had now the full confidence of the queen, who in 1711 made Harley Lord High Treasurer and Earl of Oxford, and, in 1712, made St. John Viscount Bolingbroke. In July the French fell upon Eugene and defeated him at Denain, and the Dutch, seeing the difficulty of carrying on war without English support, agreed to make peace on the terms proposed by England. On March 31, 1713, a treaty of peace, in which, for the present, the Emperor declined to share, was signed at Utrecht.

29. **Terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. 1713.**—As far as the continental Powers were concerned the main conditions of the Treaty of Utrecht were that Spain and the Indies should remain under Philip V., and that Sicily was to go to the Duke of Savoy, who was to bear the title of king of Sicily; whilst Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands were given to Charles VI., though the last-named territory was to be retained by the Dutch till he agreed to sign the Treaty. The Dutch were to be allowed to place garrisons in certain towns of the so-called barrier (see p. 674) on the southern frontier of what had lately been the Spanish Netherlands. England obtained the largest share of the material advantages of the peace, whilst she lost credit by her ill-faith in concealing her abandonment of her allies, and especially in giving up the Catalans to the vengeance of Philip. In Europe she was to keep Gibraltar and Minorca, and obtained from France a promise to destroy the fortifications of Dunkirk. In America she acquired territory round Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the French part of St. Christopher's. By an accompanying treaty with Spain, called the Assiento Treaty, she had the sole right of importing negro slaves into the Spanish colonies in America, a traffic which would now be scouted as infamous but

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which was then coveted as lucrative, and she also obtained the right of sending yearly to Panama a ship of 600 tons laden with goods for the Spanish colonists.

30. **Effect of the Treaty of Utrecht on International relations.**—The general character of the Treaty of Utrecht is of greater historical importance than its details. It marks the end of a period of European history during which there was often some reality and always some pretence of combining together for common purposes of general interest, and not merely for the particular interests of the several states. Down to the Treaties of Westphalia (see p. 564) in **1648**, Catholics had combined against Protestants and Protestants against Catholics. After that date, States which feared the overbearing insolence of Louis XIV. had combined against France. The Treaty of Utrecht ushered in a period lasting almost to the end of the eighteenth century, when each State stood up for its own interests alone, when no steady combinations could be formed, and when greed for material accessions was most conspicuous because no purpose of seeking the general good existed. Swift threw the blame upon the allies, and the Whigs threw the blame upon the Tories. The truth is that States combine readily through fear, and very seldom through a desire for the common good, and when Louis XIV. ceased to be formidable each State thought exclusively of its own interests.

31. **England as a sea-power. 1713.**—The success of the Tory ministers seemed complete. In reality, the very terms of the Treaty of Utrecht revealed their weakness. In seeking to gain material advantages for England, Oxford and Bolingbroke had been forced to look for them in advantages to trade, and in the increase of colonial dominion by which trade might be encouraged. Thereby they strengthened the trading class, which was the main support of the Whigs, whilst the landed gentry, on whom their own power mainly rested, received no benefit. Not that the Tories could well help doing what they had done. During the two wars which had been waged since the fall of James II. an immense change had been taking place in the relations between England and the other European States, irrespective of the victories of Marlborough in the field. Both France and the States General of the Dutch Netherlands had been forced to wage an exhausting war on their land frontier. The consequence was that the Dutch were no longer able to compete with the English at sea, and that Louis being, after the battle of La Hogue, compelled to limit his efforts either at sea or on land, decided to limit them at sea. The

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result was, that though there were no important English naval victories between the battle of La Hogue and the Peace of Utrecht, the English navy at the end of the war was vastly superior to the navies of its only possible rivals, France and the Dutch Republic.

Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke : from a picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

England was now the one great sea-power in Europe, not so much through her own increasing strength as through the decay of the maritime vigour of other states.

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32. **Position of the Tories. 1711—1713.**—The increase of maritime power necessarily leading to an increase of the influence of the commercial class, the Tory leaders were filled with alarm about the future, and tried to secure their power by legislation which, as they hoped, might arrest the changes which seemed likely in the future, and to strengthen their party by artificial means against changes of public opinion, much as the men of the Long Parliament and the Protectorate had formerly tried to do. In 1711 the Occasional Conformity Act had gone far to prevent Dissenters from holding office or sitting in Parliament, and earlier in the same year had been passed a Property Qualification Act which enacted that no one who did not hold land worth at least 200*l.* a year should sit in the House of Commons, thus excluding mere traders, who were for the most part Whigs. In 1713 the Tories were confronted with a further difficulty. Anne's health was failing, and the legal heir, the Electress Sophia, and her son, the Elector of Hanover, were both favourable to the Whigs. The Tories began to talk of securing the succession to the Pretender, the son of James II., by force or fraud. If only he had changed his religion and had avowed himself a Protestant, it is almost certain that an effort, possibly successful, would have been made to place him on the throne when Anne died. The Pretender was a man of little capacity, but he was too honest to change his religion for worldly ends, and he flatly refused to do so. The Tories were split into hostile parties by his refusal. Some, the pure Jacobites, clung to him in spite of it; some went over to the Whigs. The bulk of them were too bewildered to know what to do. They were aware that their supporters, the country gentry and the country clergy, would refuse to submit to a Roman Catholic king, and yet they could not voluntarily support the claims of the Electress Sophia and her son, whose succession they feared. To add to the distractions of the party its leaders, Oxford and Bolingbroke, quarrelled with one another.

33. **The Last Days and Death of Anne. 1714.**—In 1714 Swift suggested that the difficulty would be at an end if his friends would accept the Hanoverian succession, and at the same time so weaken the Whigs by repressive legislation that the new Hanoverian sovereign would be obliged to govern in accordance with the will of the Tories. In pursuance of this plan Bolingbroke carried through Parliament a Schism Act, by which no one was allowed to keep a school without license from the bishop. Oxford, who was always in favour of a middle course, and therefore disliked violent

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measures against the Dissenters, was driven from office, and Bolingbroke then hoped to control the Government for some time to come. Before a successor to Oxford was appointed, whilst the ministers were without any distinct policy or acknowledged head, and whilst even Bolingbroke himself had not definitely made up his mind as to

The Choir of St. Paul's Cathedral church, looking west, as finished by Sir Christopher Wren: from an engraving by Trevit, about 1710.

his future plans, the queen was taken ill. Bolingbroke's enemies, the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, made their appearance unexpectedly in the Council, and obtained the consent of the queen to the appointment of the Duke of Shrewsbury as Treasurer. The queen died on August 1, and the Elector of Hanover, now heir to

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the Crown by the provisions of the Act of Settlement (see p. 672), in consequence of the recent death of his mother, the Electress Sophia, was at once proclaimed by the title of George I.

34. **Politics and Art.**—In art as in politics the end of the reign of Anne completes a change long in progress from the ideal to the convenient. As in affairs of state the material interests of the country gentleman and of the trader took the place of the great causes which called out the enthusiasm of Cavalier and Roundhead in the Civil War, so in art painting became a mode of perpetuating the features of those who were rich enough to pay for having their portraits taken; and architecture, which had long forgotten the life and beauty of the mediæval churches, was losing even the stateliness which Sir Christopher Wren gave to such buildings as the new St. Paul's (p. 668) and Greenwich Hospital (p. 662). Even Wren could not give much of this high quality to steeples such as those of St. Bride's, Fleet Street (p. 681), because the horizontal lines of an architecture derived from the Greeks through the Romans are unsuited to the soaring motive of a mediæval spire; nor could his domestic buildings, such as those at Hampton Court (pp. 665, 666), altogether overcome the necessity of making the inmates comfortable at the expense of architectural beauty. His successor, Vanbrugh, in building Blenheim Palace (see p. 683), sought out combinations neither graceful nor dignified in the hope of thereby avoiding that which was merely commonplace; but on the whole it was the commonplace which was gaining ground, and which ultimately pervaded the domestic buildings raised during the greater part of the eighteenth century.

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CHAPTER XLV

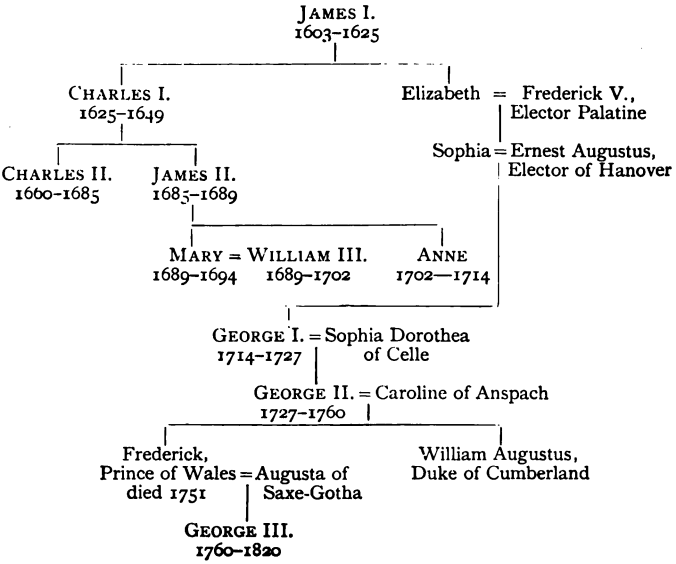
TOWNSHEND, SUNDERLAND, AND WALPOLE. 1714—1737

LEADING DATES

Reign of George I., 1714–1727.	Reign of George II., 1727–1760
Accession of George I.	August 1, 1714
Mar's Rising	1715
The Septennial Act	1716
The South Sea Bubble	1720
Walpole, First Lord of the Treasury	1721
Accession of George II.	June 12, 1727
The Excise Bill	1733
Death of Queen Caroline	November 20, 1737

1. **George I. and the Whigs. 1714.**—Before George I.[1] arrived in England a thorough change was made by his orders in all the offices of Government. With scarcely an exception all Tories were

[1] Genealogy of the first three Hanoverian kings :—



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dismissed, and Whigs appointed in their place. As the new king intended to take a leading part in the Government, he placed the more important offices in the hands of men who had hitherto been

George I.: from an engraving by Vertue.

less prominent than the great Whig leaders of Anne's reign. The most conspicuous of the new ministers was Lord Townshend, who became Secretary of State. When the king arrived he found that

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his own power was much less than he had expected. He could not speak English, and all communications between himself and his ministers were carried on in bad Latin. He therefore set the example, which all subsequent sovereigns have followed, of abstaining from attending Cabinet meetings, where the discussion took place in a language unintelligible to him. This abstention had important constitutional results. The Cabinet, which for some time had been growing independent of the sovereign, became still more independent, especially as George knew no more of English ways than he knew of the English language, and was obliged to take most of the advice of his ministers on trust. He could not think of replacing them by Tories, because he had been led to look upon all Tories as Jacobites.

2. **The Whigs and the Nation. 1714.** The Whigs, however, needed the support of Parliament more than the support of the king. The great landowners who directed their policy were wealthy and intelligent, and therefore unpopular amongst the country gentry and the country clergy. They aimed at establishing a sort of aristocratic republic with a king nominally at its head, in which fair play should be given to the Dissenters, and the trading classes encouraged. Yet they were clear-sighted enough to perceive that it was impossible to govern without the support of the House of Commons; and it was with the support of the House of Commons that the Tories in the last four years of Anne's reign had maintained themselves in power by appealing to the prejudices of the country gentry and the country clergy. The Whig tenure of power was, therefore, not likely to last long unless they could find some means of crushing opponents who had been, and might easily be again, more popular than themselves.

3. **The Whigs and Parliament. 1715.**—For the moment, indeed, the Whigs had the advantage. In **1715** a new Parliament was chosen, and many Tories who were, after all, not really Jacobites voted for Whig candidates in alarm lest their own leaders should bring back the Pretender, whom they distrusted as a Roman Catholic. The Whigs, therefore, had a majority in the House of Commons, whilst they had already recovered the majority in the House of Lords which they had temporarily lost by the recent creation of the Tory peers (see p. 695). In order to make their success permanent by getting rid of the leaders of the party opposed to them, the Whigs prepared to impeach Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Ormond as traitors, on the ground of the secret agreements which they had made with the French during the

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negotiation of the Treaty of Utrecht. Oxford, with his usual coolness, stayed to face the attack, and got off with two years' imprisonment. Bolingbroke and Ormond fled to France, where Bolingbroke entered the service of the Pretender as Secretary of State. Acts of attainder were passed against both. These high-handed proceedings of the Whigs nearly defeated their object. The German king had by this time become unpopular, and Jacobitism increased amongst the Tories, most of whom had submitted to him at his first coming. In all parts of England and Scotland large numbers made ready for a rising against his government. Bolingbroke urged Louis XIV. to support them. Louis, however, died without having given his consent, and the Jacobites of Great Britain had to dispense with foreign aid.

4. **Mar's Rising. 1715—1716.**—Under these circumstances Bolingbroke urged delay, but the Pretender—headstrong and incompetent—ordered the Earl of Mar, his chief supporter in Scotland, to rise against the Government. On September 3 Mar took the field, and, on October 7, a gentleman of Northumberland, named Forster, declared for the Pretender in the north of England. The Whig ministers, unpopular as they were, had the advantage in their position as the actual rulers of the country, and, now that the Tory leaders had been got rid of, they had the advantage in ability. Argyle commanded for the Government in Scotland, and on November 13 he fought a drawn battle with Mar on Sheriffmuir. Though half of each army defeated half of the other, Mar—who throughout the whole campaign showed himself singularly incompetent—allowed Argyle to secure the advantages of a victory. Forster, though supported by men of influence on both sides of the border —Lord Derwentwater from England and Lords Nithsdale and Kenmure from Scotland—showed himself as incompetent as Mar, and surrendered at Preston on the same day as that on which the battle was fought on Sheriffmuir. On December 2 the Pretender himself landed at Peterhead, and on January 6, **1716**, he entered Dundee. He was, however, so dull and unenterprising that his very followers despised him, some even asking whether he could really speak. By this time the Government, having suppressed all attempts at resistance in England, was preparing to send a powerful army into Scotland, and the Pretender prudently took shipping for France, where he soon dismissed Bolingbroke, whose advice was too good to be to his taste. Derwentwater and Kenmure were beheaded on Tower Hill. Nithsdale escaped through the address of his wife, who visited him in prison, and sent him out dressed

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in her clothes. Thirty-eight persons of lower rank were put to death, and the estates of many others were forfeited.

5. **The Septennial Act. 1716.**—Successful as the Whigs had been in the field, they did not venture to face the elections to a new Parliament, which, in accordance with the Triennial Act (see p. 661), must be held in the beginning of **1718**. Accordingly they passed a Septennial Act, by which the existing Parliament prolonged its own duration for four years longer than was allowed by the law as it stood at the time when the House of Commons was chosen. This proceeding strained to the uttermost the doctrine that a British Parliament—unlike Parliaments in countries like the

A Coach of the early part of the eighteenth century: from an engraving by Kip.

present United States, in which a written constitution exists—can make any law it pleases, even if it effects the greatest changes in the institutions of the State. Hitherto the king had acted as a restraint upon Parliament by exercising his right of refusing the Royal Assent to Bills. This prerogative, however, which had been exercised for the last time by Anne in **1707**, now dropped out of use, and Parliament thereby became supreme as far as other branches of the Government were concerned. The question of its relations to the constituencies assumed new importance; and in **1716** at least the Whigs were of opinion that the duration of Parliament should be lengthened in order to make the House of Commons more independent of them. They were afraid lest the supremacy which

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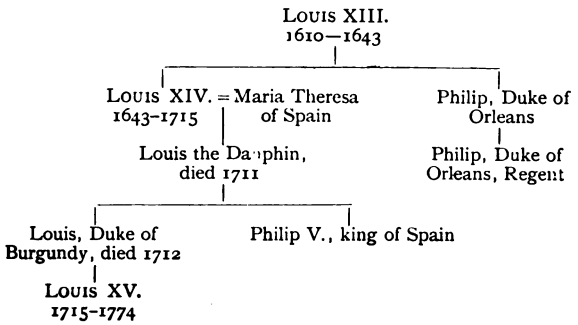
had been wrested from the Crown should pass into the hands of an ignorant, ill-informed multitude. Yet they were unable—even if they had been willing—to make the House of Commons a permanent oligarchy. As the duration of Parliament could not be indefinitely prolonged without provoking violent opposition, the Whigs had only gained a respite during which they would have to do their best to make themselves more acceptable to the nation than they were when the Septennial Act was passed.

6. **England and France. 1716.**—One of the chief causes of the fall of the Whigs in Anne's reign had been their advocacy of war: now, however, they stood forward as the advocates of peace. In effecting this change of front they were helped by the disappearance of those of their leaders who had been foremost in the struggle with France. Somers, Halifax, and Wharton died before the end of 1716, and, though Marlborough still lived, he was incapacitated by disease from acting in public. Still more helpful to the Whig party was a change which had taken place in France. The King of France was now a sickly child, Louis XV., the great-grandson of Louis XIV. If he died (as most people expected him to do), there would be two competitors for the throne of France—the one, his uncle, Philip V. of Spain, the grandson of Louis XIV. (who was, indeed, his nearest male relation, but who, in accordance with the Treaty of Utrecht, had renounced all claim to the French throne), and the other, the duke of Orleans, who was now Regent of France,[1] and was the nearest male relation of Louis XV. after Philip V. As it was believed that, in the event of the young king's death, Philip V. would assert his claim in spite of his renunciation, it was to the interest of the Duke of Orleans to be on friendly terms with

[1] Genealogy of the family of Louis XIV.:—



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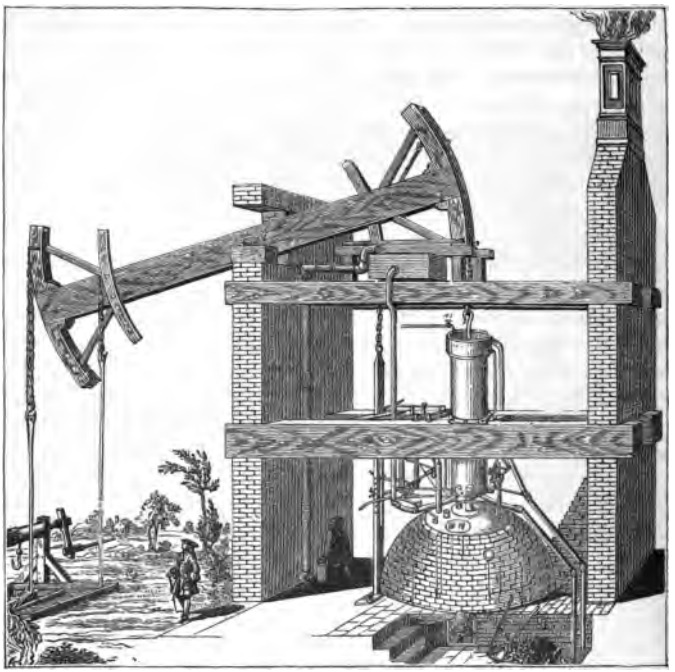
England ; whilst it was equally to the interest of England to exclude Philip V. from the French throne, in order to prevent that union between France and Spain which the Whigs had striven to prevent in the late war. It therefore became possible for the Whigs to pursue their aim—the separation between France and Spain—by that peaceful understanding with the French Government which had gained popularity for the Tories in the time of Anne. On



An early form of Steam-pump for mines : from an engraving dated 1717.

November 28, **1716**, an agreement was arrived at by which the Regent promised his support to the Hanoverian succession in England, whilst England promised to support the exclusion of Philip V. from the throne of France. A few weeks later the Dutch gave their assent to this arrangement, and a triple alliance was thus formed against Philip and the Pretender.

7. **The Whig Schism. 1716—1717.**—Though the Whig minis-

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ters had their own way in most matters, they found it necessary to comply with the king in some things. He had two ruling motives — anxiety to strengthen the electorate of Hanover, and hatred of his own eldest son George, Prince of Wales. In the interests of Hanover he had, in **1715**, purchased the secularised bishoprics of Bremen and Verden from Frederick IV., king of Denmark. Though the Whig ministers had consented to the purchase of these territories, some of them—especially Townshend and his brother-in-law Sir Robert Walpole, who was the ablest of the rising Whigs—had said hard things of the grasping Hanoverian favourites and mistresses, upon whom George squandered English gold. In **1716** the Tzar Peter the Great sent troops into Mecklenburg—the first interference of Russia in Western affairs ; and George, being anxious to keep the Russians at a distance, complained of Townshend for being unwilling to engage England in driving them out. Then, too, the king, who had quarrelled with the Prince of Wales, believed (probably without foundation) that Townshend had shown some favour to the object of his displeasure, on which he took the Secretaryship from him, sending him to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant. In **1717** Charles XII. of Sweden, angry about Bremen and Verden, which he claimed for himself, formed an alliance with Spain—which was once more growing in vigour, under the care of Philip's new Italian minister, Alberoni—and even projected an invasion of Scotland in the interests of the Pretender. The scheme was discovered in England and averted. When Parliament was asked to vote money for a war against Sweden, Walpole spoke but coldly on behalf of the proposal. The king dismissed Townshend, and Walpole resigned. The Whig party being thus split in two, the leaders of the ministry as reconstituted were Sunderland and Stanhope, the latter being the general who had fought in Spain, and who was soon afterwards raised to the peerage as Lord Stanhope.

8. **The Quadruple Alliance. 1718—1720.**—In foreign affairs Sunderland and Stanhope maintained the alliance with France which had been the corner-stone of the policy of their predecessors. In **1717** Alberoni seized Sardinia, which had been given to Austria by the treaty of Utrecht, and sent an army into Sicily to begin the re-conquest of those Italian possessions which Spain had lost by the same treaty. In **1718** was formed a Quadruple Alliance, in which the Emperor joined Great Britain, France, and the Dutch Republic. A Spanish army overran the greater part of Sicily, but the Spanish fleet was destroyed by Admiral Sir George Byng off Cape Passaro. In **1719** Alberoni sent two frigates to land Jacobites in

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Scotland. The expedition failed, and France and England forced Philip to dismiss his minister. In **1720** Philip agreed to abandon both Sicily and Sardinia. Sicily was given to Austria, and Sardinia went to the Duke of Savoy, who now bore the title of King of Sardinia, instead of that of King of Sicily; and soon afterwards the King of Spain removed the obstructions which he had hitherto thrown in the way of the execution of the clause in the Treaty of Utrecht by which the landing of goods at Panama from a single English ship had been permitted (see p. 697). After this Europe had peace for twelve years.

9. **The Relief of the Dissenters, and the Peerage Bill. 1719.**— The two sections of the Whigs were opposed to one another, rather upon personal than on political grounds. Walpole was, however, more cautious than Sunderland or Stanhope. Sunderland and Stanhope, in **1719**, obtained the repeal of the Occasional Conformity Act and of the Schism Act, which had been the work of the triumphant Tories in the reign of Anne (see p. 699); but when they showed signs of wishing to repeal the Test Act of the reign of Charles II. (see p. 607), thereby not merely offering religious liberty to Dissenters, but also proposing to qualify them for office, Walpole was startled, thinking that the unpopularity of such a measure might prove the ruin of the Whigs. The main subject of quarrel between the rival statesmen was, however, a Peerage Bill which Sunderland and Stanhope laid before Parliament. According to this proposal the king was to be allowed to create only six additional peerages (except in the case of a member of the Royal Family), after which he could only make a new peer upon the extinction of an old peerage. This measure, which passed the House of Lords, was rejected in the Commons, mainly in consequence of Walpole's opposition. It is hardly to be doubted that its framers looked forward to the possible election of a Tory House of Commons, and wished to hinder a Tory minister from making himself master of the House of Lords by creating a large number of peers, as Harley and St. John had done in **1711** (see p. 695). According to them, the House of Lords was to be the bulwark of the Whigs against a Tory House of Commons. It was Walpole's merit that he saw distinctly that this could not be, as the Bill, if it had passed, would have made the House of Lords a narrow oligarchy capable of setting at defiance both the Crown and the House of Commons. It was, moreover, clear to him that the Commons must from henceforth be the chief member of the constitutional organisation. If the Whigs were to win the battle, they must win it by possessing

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a majority in the House of Commons, and not by setting up the artificial barrier of a restricted House of Lords. It is unlikely that Sunderland acknowledged the inferiority of his own statesmanship to that of Walpole, but he had felt his power, and in **1720** admitted both him and Townshend to subordinate offices in the government.

10. **The South Sea Bubble. 1720.**—Few things served the Whigs so well as their adoption of a policy of peace, to which their short war with Spain hardly furnished an exception. With the cessation of the risks due to war trade increased rapidly, and with the increase of trade came a violent increase of speculation. Joint-stock companies, which had hitherto been limited to a few

Group showing costumes and sedan chair, about 1720: from an engraving by Kip.

great undertakings, were formed in large numbers. Some, being managed by men of experience, met with success; whilst others, started by swindlers or by persons ignorant of trade, speedily collapsed, and ruined those who had embarked their capital in them. Amongst these latter the most prominent was the South Sea Company, which had been formed by Harley, in **1711**, to carry on such trade with Spanish America as might be rendered possible by the expected treaty with Spain. Trade with the Spanish colonies was allowed by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht to a single English ship in each year, and the Assiento treaty had also granted to the English the right of importing negroes into them (see p. 696). All classes in England were under the delusion that the

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wealth of Spanish America was so enormous that this trade would enrich all who took part in it. Consequently the shares of the South Sea Company were eagerly bought. At the same time politicians were growing anxious about the amount of the national debt, and in **1720** a Bill was passed enabling those to whom the nation owed money to take shares in the South Sea Company in the place of their claim upon the nation. Large numbers of all classes accepted this arrangement. Others rushed eagerly to buy shares which were supposed to be of priceless value. Landlords sold their estates, and clergymen and widows brought their savings to invest in the South Sea Company. So great was the demand that in August **1720** shares originally worth 100*l.* were purchased for 1,000*l.* The madness of speculation spread rapidly, and new companies were formed every day for objects unlikely to be remunerative. People actually took shares in one company for making salt-water fresh; in another for transmuting quicksilver into a malleable and fine metal; and in another for importing a number of large jackasses from Spain; whilst one impostor asked the public to take shares in an undertaking the nature of which was in due time to be revealed.

11. **The Bursting of the Bubble. 1720—1721.**—Before long people began to find out that they had paid too highly for the objects of their visionary hopes, and the price of shares rapidly fell. Thousands were reduced to beggary, and the ruined dupes cried out for the punishment of those by whom their hopes had been excited. One peer asked that the directors of the company might be sewn up in sacks and thrown into the Thames. The bitterest indignation, however, was directed against the ministers. Most of them had speculated in the shares, and some of them had made money by actual swindling. In **1721** Aislabie was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Craggs Secretary of State. Aislabie was sent to the Tower; Craggs died of the small-pox; whilst Craggs' father, the Postmaster-General, took poison. Sunderland was acquitted of dishonourable conduct, but he had been amongst the speculators, and resigned. Stanhope, who had had nothing to do with the speculation, fell into a fit in answering a false accusation, and died.

12. **Walpole called to the Rescue. 1721—1722.**—Amidst the general crash Walpole was called upon to restore order. In April **1721** he became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. He had a financial ability which was rare in those times, and he made an arrangement which at least left something

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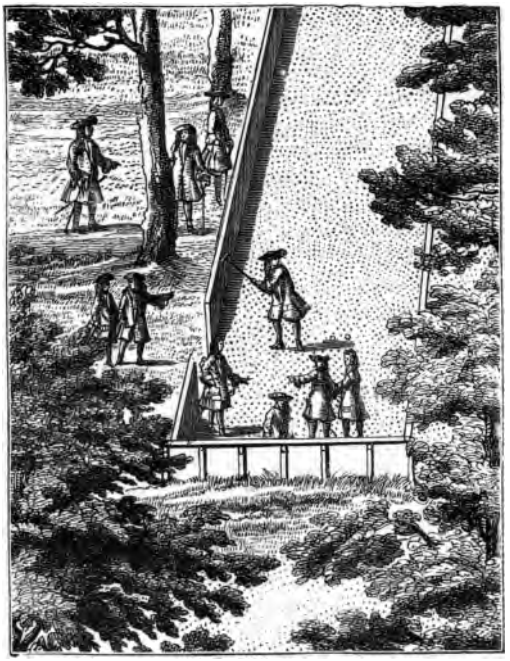
to the shareholders, though it gave them far less than they had expected. Walpole's accession to office was the beginning of a ministerial career which lasted twenty-one years. Its immediate result was of the greatest benefit to the Whigs. The seven years to which the Septennial Act had extended the duration of the existing Parliament ended in March 1722. There can hardly be a doubt that if the elections had taken place a year earlier, they would have



View of the game of Mall: from an engraving by Kip, about 1720.

resulted in the overthrow of the Whigs. As it was, the country connected Walpole's name with restored order and financial probity, and a large Whig majority was accordingly returned.

13. **Corruption under Walpole.**—It was not, however, merely to the national gratitude that Walpole owed his success at the polls. When he opposed the Peerage Bill he taught the Whig aristocracy that it must rely on the House of Commons (see p. 710). Yet it

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was hard to see how the House of Commons could represent the people at large, because, for the most part, the people were too ignorant and ill-educated to have any political opinions at all. The electors, if left to themselves, might return a Parliament as Tory as had been the Parliaments which had supported Oxford and Bolingbroke. Therefore the Whigs, even before Walpole secured power, had determined that the electors should not be left to themselves. In many boroughs the right of voting was confined to the corporation; and as large numbers of these boroughs were mere villages or even hamlets, the members of their corporations were poor men—easily accessible to arguments addressed to their pockets. The wealthiest landowner in the neighbourhood was usually a Whig, who would use his influence and his purse in securing the election of his own nominee. Electors found that, if they voted for the Whig candidate, their lives would be made easy to them, whilst if they voted for the Tory candidate they would be much worse off. In the House of Commons itself the same system of corruption was pursued. What amount of ready money Walpole paid to his supporters has been disputed, and it was certainly much less than has usually been supposed; but he had in his gift all the offices held under the Crown, a large number of which were sinecures with large pay and no duties. Needy members discovered that if they wanted money they must support Walpole, and ambitious members discovered that if they wanted office they could only obtain it by supporting Walpole. It is therefore not surprising that all the rising talent in the country declared itself Whig.

14. **Walpole and Corruption.**—Yet, evil as this system was, it was rendered tolerable by the knowledge that the only alternative—the return of the Tory party to power, probably bringing with it a restoration of the Stuart dynasty—would have been still more disastrous. The political creed of the Tory squires and of the Tory clergy was founded on religious intolerance and contempt for trade. What they wanted was a king who would keep down dissenters and moneyed men, and accordingly most of the Tories had by this time become Jacobites. The great Whig nobles, on the other hand, were for religious toleration and for weakening the power of the king. The Whigs gained the day, partly because they were more intelligent than their rivals, partly because the predominance even of a corrupt House of Commons—with its free speech and its show of government by argument rather than by arbitrary will—was in itself advantageous as matters then stood.

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The interior of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London; built by James Gibbs, 1722–1726.

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In all this work they found a fitting leader in Walpole. He was devoted to duty and was single-eyed in devoting himself to the interests of his country; but his manners and his mind were alike coarse, and he did not shrink from the employment of the lowest means to accomplish his ends. On the other hand it may be said in his favour that he was not vindictive, and that he contented himself with excluding his rivals from power, without even seeking to inflict punishment upon them.

15. **'Quieta non movere.'**—Walpole took for his motto *Quieta non movere* (let sleeping dogs lie). In many periods of English history such a confession would have been disgraceful to a statesman. In Walpole's days it was an honourable one. The work before him was to maintain toleration and constitutional government, and he was aware that he could only hope for success if he

Ploughing with oxen in the eighteenth century.

avoided awakening the ignorant passions which were slumbering around. He remembered the storm of popular rage to which the Whigs had been exposed in the time of the Sacheverell trial (see p. 690), and he was resolved to show no favour to the Dissenters which would provoke another outburst against them. The Dissenters were most eager to obtain a repeal of the Test Act (see p. 606) for themselves, though not for the Catholics. Walpole, who knew the anger which would be excited if he proposed such a measure, always told them that the time was not convenient. At last they asked him to tell them when the time would be convenient. "I will answer you frankly," was his reply, "Never!" Year after year, however, he passed through Parliament a Bill indemnifying all persons who had held offices in defiance of the Test Act, and thus Dissenters got what they wanted without exciting attention.

16. **The Prime Ministership.**—When any number of men meet

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together to transact business, there must be one to take the lead if their meetings are not to end in confusion. Till the death of Anne, Cabinets had met in the presence of the sovereign, and were regarded as his or her advisers. Yet even then their growing independence was beginning to make it necessary for them to find a leader or leaders in their own body, and people began to look first to Marlborough and Godolphin and then to Harley and St. John as superior to other members of the Cabinet, and even to apply to one or the other of them loosely the term 'first minister.' After the accession of George I., when the king ceased to sit in the Cabinet, it became still more necessary for that body to find a

Mowing grass in the eighteenth century.

leader, and Townshend at first and afterwards Sunderland are sometimes spoken of by modern writers as Prime Ministers. No such position was, however, openly assigned to them by contemporaries, and when Walpole entered office in 1721 ministers were still regarded as equal amongst themselves. It was Walpole's chief contribution to constitutional progress that he created the Prime Ministership in his own person, and thereby gave to Cabinet government that unity which every government must possess if its action is to be enduring, and which earlier governments possessed through the presidency of the king. Yet so hateful was the new idea that Walpole had to disclaim any intention of making himself Prime Minister; and the word came into familiar

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use by being applied to him tauntingly by his enemies, as the fit name for a minister who wanted to convert all other ministers into his instruments instead of regarding them as his equals.

17. **Walpole and Carteret. 1723—1724.**—Walpole's first trial of strength was with Lord Carteret, one of the Secretaries of State, a man of great ability, who had the advantage of being able to address the king in German, whilst Walpole had to address him in Latin. Walpole founded his policy of peace on an alliance with France, whilst Carteret inherited the tradition of the Whigs of Anne's reign in favour of a continental alliance against France. Between Carteret and Walpole a rivalry soon sprang up, and in **1724** Carteret was forced to resign the Secretaryship, though he remained a member of the Cabinet for some time to come.

18. **Wood's Halfpence. 1724.**—The first instance of Walpole's method of averting popular discontent by avoiding a collision with strong feeling arose when a grant was made to a certain Wood of the right of issuing a copper coinage in Ireland. The coins were good in themselves, but Wood had bought the right of coining them by bribes to the king's German mistresses, and Irishmen naturally concluded that they were to pay the cost. Swift, delighted at the opportunity of scourging his old enemies the Whigs, poured scorn and ridicule upon Wood's Halfpence in 'The Drapier's Letters,' and for the first time in Irish history both races and both creeds were united in resistance to the obnoxious grant. Walpole dreaded a disturbance more than anything else, and the grant was withdrawn.

19. **The Last Years of George I. 1724—1727.**—Walpole's influence deservedly grew from year to year. In spite of great difficulties, he maintained peace abroad. The Duke of Orleans had been dead for some years, and in **1726** Cardinal Fleury—who was as peace-loving as Walpole himself—became Prime Minister to the young king Louis XV., and did everything in his power to prevent war breaking out in Europe. In **1727** George I., as soon as he was able to leave England, crossed the sea to enjoy himself in Hanover. On the way, before he reached Osnabrück, he was struck down by apoplexy in his carriage. His attendants wished to seek help in the nearest village, but were urged on by cries of "Osnabrück! Osnabrück!" from their half-conscious master. Before the carriage reached Osnabrück George I. was dead.

20. **George II. and Walpole. 1727.**—The new king George II. had the advantage (which his father had not had) of being able to speak English. He was not intelligent, but was straightforward and courageous, and though, like his father, he kept mistresses, he

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Church of St. Mary Woolnoth, London; finished in 1727 from the designs of Nicholas Hawksmoor.

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was accustomed on all difficult questions to defer to the advice of his wife, Queen Caroline—a woman of sound judgment and of wide intellectual interests. George's first impulse was to choose as his leading minister Sir Spencer Compton, a personal favourite of his own. Compton, however, being ordered to write the speech in which the king was to notify his accession to the Privy Council, was so overpowered by the difficulties of the task that he begged Walpole to write it for him. After this the queen easily persuaded her husband that Compton was not strong enough for the post; and Walpole, being recalled to office, was soon as much trusted by George II. as he had been by George I.

21. **Breach between Walpole and Townshend. 1730.**—Even after the complete establishment of Parliamentary supremacy the favour of the king was not to be despised; for, though he could not shake the power of the Whig aristocracy as a whole, yet if one Whig entered upon a rivalry with another, his support would be decisive, at least for a time. Such a rivalry now broke out between Walpole and his brother-in-law, Townshend, who had been Secretary of State since **1721**. The main cause of the quarrel is best described by Walpole himself. "As long," he said, "as the firm was Townshend and Walpole, the utmost harmony prevailed; but it no sooner became Walpole and Townshend than things went wrong." In other words, the question between them was whether there was to be a Prime Minister or not. Townshend, who was Secretary of State, held to the old doctrine that he was accountable only to the king and Parliament. Walpole held to the new doctrine that he himself—as first Lord of the Treasury—was to direct the policy of the other ministers. It is not by accident that the First Lord of the Treasury has usually been the Prime Minister; in later years it has been accepted as the general rule. It is his business to find the money expended by the other ministers, and it is therefore only reasonable that decision of a policy which will cost money should rest with him. He should be able to exercise a veto over proposals which lead to an expenditure which, even if it is desirable in itself, may be greater than the country is able or willing to bear. In **1730** Townshend resigned, and being honourably desirous of keeping out of farther disputes with his brother-in-law, remained in private life to the end of his days.

22. **Bolingbroke as Organiser of the Opposition. 1726—1732.**—Already a violent opposition was gathering against Walpole. In **1716** the Pretender, being too stupid to take good advice, had dis-

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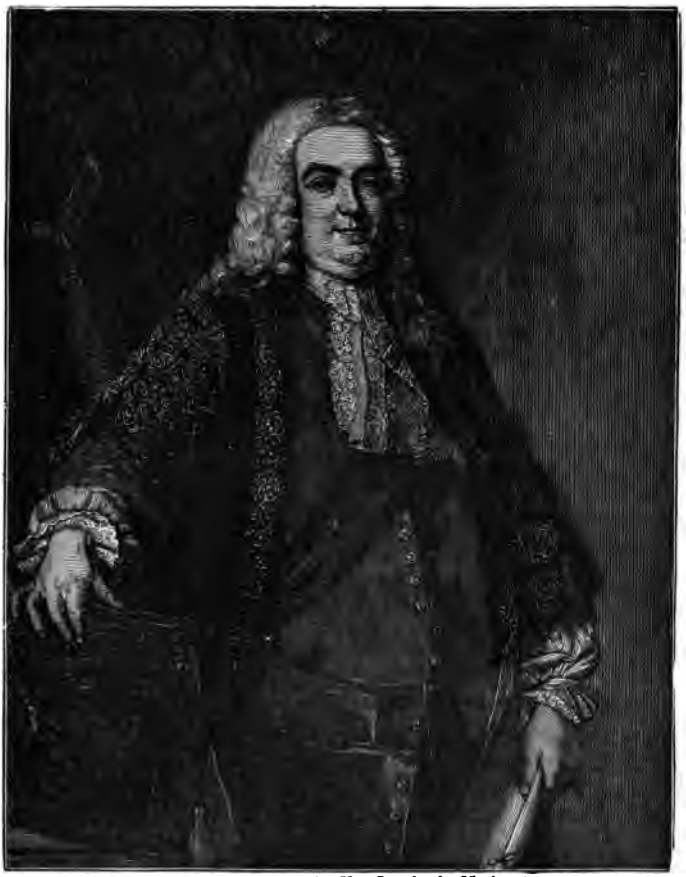
missed Bolingbroke from his service (see p. 705). Bolingbroke, by bribing one of the mistresses of George I., had interested that king in his favour, and in 1725 his attainder had been reversed. Walpole, however, had still sufficient influence to procure the main-



Sir Robert Walpole: from the picture by Van Loo in the National Portrait Gallery.

tenance of the clause in the Act of Attainder which excluded him from the House of Lords. Bolingbroke, the most eloquent orator of the day, was thus shut out from the only place in which at that

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time it was possible for him to make his eloquence heard. Walpole may well have thought that he had crushed Bolingbroke for ever. He had, however, under-estimated the powers of the Tory leader. Though Bolingbroke could deliver no more orations, he was still master of his pen and of his persuasive tongue, and he set to work to weld together a parliamentary opposition out of the most discordant elements. Those elements were in the main three. There were in the House of Commons about fifty Jacobites, a small number of Tories accepting the House of Hanover, and a gradually-increasing body of Whigs sulky because Walpole did not admit them to a share of power. Of the latter the leader was William Pulteney, an indiscreet politician but an excellent speaker. Between Bolingbroke and Pulteney an alliance was struck, and by the end of 1726 they had combined in publishing *The Craftsman*, a weekly paper in which Walpole was held up to obloquy as erecting a ministerial despotism by the use of corruption.

23. **The Excise Bill. 1733.**—In 1733 Walpole gave a handle to the attacks of his enemies. There was an immense amount of smuggling and of other frauds on the customs revenue. To meet the difficulty Walpole proposed to establish a new system of levying the duties on tobacco, intending, as he gave out, to extend it subsequently to those on wine. According to this new system all tobacco imported was to be brought free of duty into warehouses under Government supervision. The duty would be paid by those who took it out for home consumption, and its sale would only be allowed at shops licensed for the purpose, in the same way that certain houses are licensed for the sale of beer at the present day. As the tax was really paid on an imported article, it would have been more prudent in Walpole if he had continued to call it a customs duty, as an excise was an unpopular form of taxation. He called it, however, an excise, probably because the sale of the tobacco was confined to licensed houses, as the sale of any other excisable article would be. He had, indeed, reason to hope that his plan would prove acceptable. In the first place if it were adopted smuggling would be far more difficult than it had hitherto been, because it would now be more easy to detect the sale of the smuggled article; and in the second place not only would the public revenue be benefited, but the honest trader would be less liable to be undersold by the smuggler. A third advantage would also be gained. Hitherto goods imported in order to be subsequently exported had had to pay duty, which was only recoverable upon the

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Vessels unloading at the Customs House, at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

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observance of intricate formalities accompanied by considerable expense. According to Walpole's plan, the tobacco stored in Government warehouses could be exported without any payment at all; and the export trade of the country would be encouraged by liberating it from unnecessary trammels.

24. **The Defeat of the Excise Bill. 1733.**—To the arguments which Walpole addressed to the intelligence of his hearers, he took care to add others addressed to their pockets. Almost all the members of the House of Commons were country gentlemen, and Walpole, therefore, reminded them that the revenue would be so increased—at the expense of those who had bought smuggled goods—that he would be able to remit the Land Tax. Walpole's proposals were indeed admirable, but Bolingbroke and Pulteney stirred up popular feeling against them by wild misrepresentations. The masses were persuaded to believe that Walpole wanted to subject them to a general excise, to search their houses at any hour without a warrant, and to raise the price of tobacco. All classes joined in the outcry. The very soldiers were no longer to be depended on. At last Walpole resolved to withdraw the Bill. "I will not," he once said in private conversation, "be the minister to enforce taxes at the expense of blood." It was, in short, wise to convert customs into excise, but it was not expedient. In this regard for expediency lay the sum of Walpole's political wisdom, and it was because he possessed it that the House of Hanover and the constitutional system connected with the House of Hanover rooted themselves in England. If, however, Walpole gave way before the nation, he resolved to be master of the Cabinet, and he summarily dismissed some of his principal colleagues who had been intriguing with the Opposition against him.

25. **Disruption of the Opposition. 1734-1735.**—Bolingbroke had won the trick, but he could not win the game. The Excise Bill was quickly forgotten, and Walpole's great services were again remembered. In 1734, in a new House of Commons, his supporters were nearly as numerous as before. Bolingbroke was never thoroughly trusted by the discontented Whigs, and in 1735 he retired to France, leaving English politics to shape themselves without his help.

26. **The Family Compact. 1733.**—Walpole's management of foreign affairs was as dexterous as his management of Parliament. He had hitherto not only kept England from embarking in war, but had contributed his aid to the restoration of peace on the

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Continent itself whenever this had been possible. In **1733** a war broke out, usually known as the War of the Polish Succession, but embracing the West of Europe as well. It was noteworthy that in this war France and Spain appeared in close alliance, and that they had signed a secret treaty, known as the Family Compact, which was directed against Austria and England. The two branches of the House of Bourbon were to act together; and the whole basis of Walpole's foreign policy was thus swept away. At the time when the death of Louis XV. was considered probable (see p. 707), it had been natural that the Duke of Orleans should see in an alliance with England a barrier against the claim likely to be put forward to the French throne by Philip V.; but all that was altered now. Not only was the Duke of Orleans dead, but Louis XV. had become a husband and a father, and the question of Philip's claim to the succession was therefore no longer important. France had recovered her military strength, and it was believed at the French court that a close alliance with Spain would enable her to dictate terms to Europe. When peace was signed in **1735** at Vienna, Austria ceded Naples and Sicily—with other smaller possessions in Italy—to Charles, the second surviving son of Philip V., whilst Lorraine was given to Stanislaus Leczinski (the father-in-law of Louis XV.), on the understanding that after his death it was to be merged in France. Walpole, who knew of the existence of the Family Compact soon after its signature, had abstained from joining in the war—perhaps thinking that the allies were too well occupied in Europe to meddle with England.

27. **Dissensions in the Royal Family. 1737.**—In **1737** Walpole's position was weakened by two untoward events. A quarrel broke out between George II. and his eldest son Frederick, Prince of Wales; and the Prince, being turned out of the court, put himself at the head of the Opposition. Not long after this Queen Caroline, Walpole's truest friend, died.

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CHAPTER XLVI

WALPOLE, CARTERET, AND THE PELHAMS. 1737—1754

LEADING DATES

Reign of George II., 1727—1760

Jenkins's ear	1738
War with Spain	1739
Resignation of Walpole	Feb. 17, 1742
Resignation of Carteret	Nov. 23, 1744
The Young Pretender's Rising	1745
Battle of Culloden	April 16, 1746
Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle	1748
Death of Henry Pelham	March 6, 1754

1. **The Reign of Common Sense.**—Walpole had been hitherto successful because he had governed on principles of common sense. He had kept the peace and had allowed men to grow rich by leaving them to pursue their own callings without interference. Common sense was, indeed, the chief characteristic of the age. Pope, its leading poet, was conspicuous for felicity of expression and for the ease and neatness with which he dealt with topics relating to man in society. High imagination and the pursuit of ideal beauty had no place in his mind. In matters of religion it was much the same. Those who spoke and wrote on them abandoned the search for eternal verities, contenting themselves with asking where the balance of probability lay, or, at the most, what was the view most suitable to the cultivated reason. To speak of anyone's zeal or enthusiasm was regarded as opprobrious. In social life there was a coarseness which was the natural consequence of the temper of the day. Men drank heavily, and talked openly of their vices.

2. **Smuggling in the West Indies.**—Such a generation turned eagerly to the pursuit of wealth, and chafed at the restrictions which other nations attempted to place on its commerce. It happened that Spain—the weakest of European nations—had the most extended territory open to commercial enterprise. As in the days of Elizabeth (see p. 447), the Spanish Government tried to prevent the English from trading with its American dominions, whilst the Spanish colonists, on the other hand, were anxious to promote a trade by which they were benefited. It was notorious that English merchants did their best to evade the restriction imposed on them

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by the Treaty of Utrecht. The one ship of 600 tons which they were allowed by that treaty to send annually to Panama (see p. 697) sailed into the harbour and discharged her goods. As soon as it

George II. : from the portrait by Thomas Hudson in the National Portrait Gallery.

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was dark, smaller vessels (which had kept out of sight in the daytime) sailed in and filled it up again, so that the one ship was enabled to put many ship-loads on shore. Besides this, there was an immense amount of smuggling carried on by Englishmen on various parts of the coast of Spanish America. Spanish coast-guards, in return, often seized English vessels which they suspected of smuggling, and sometimes brutally ill-treated their crews. The Spaniards also claimed to have the right of searching English vessels even on the high seas. Besides this, they disputed the English assumption of the right to cut log-wood in the bay of Campeachy, and alleged that the new English colony of Georgia, lately founded in North America, encroached on the boundaries of what was then the Spanish territory of Florida.

3. **Walpole and Spain.**—To Walpole the exceeding energy of the British traders and smugglers was annoying. It was likely to bring on war, and he held war to be the worst of evils. Right or wrong, the smugglers carried on the great movement which has filled the waste places of the world with children of the English race. Walpole entered on negotiations with the Spanish Government, hoping to obtain compensation for wrongs actually inflicted by its agents. Bolingbroke hurried back from France to re-organise the Opposition, at the head of which he now placed the foolish Prince of Wales (see p. 725), who was ready to give his support to any movement against Walpole, simply because Walpole was the favourite minister of his father.

4. **William Pitt. 1738.**—The so-called patriots of the Opposition and the Tories were now joined by a small group of young men called by Walpole the Boys, who were filled with disgust at the corruption around them, and fancied that all that went wrong was the fault of Walpole, and not the fault of the generation in which he lived. Walpole's scorn of the patriots was unmeasured. "All these men have their price," he once said, pointing to the benches on which they were sitting. He could easily make a patriot, he declared on another occasion, by merely refusing an unreasonable request. It was with half-amused contempt that he regarded the Boys. When they were older, he thought, they would discover the necessity of dealing with the world as it was, not as they thought it ought to be. He had found that men could only be governed by offers of money or of money's worth, and so it would ever be. Some, indeed, of the Boys lived to fulfil Walpole's cynical expectation, but there were amongst them a few, especially William Pitt, who maintained in old age the standard of purity

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which they had raised in youth. Pitt was a born orator, but as yet his flashing speeches, filled with passionate invective, had little reasoning in them. That which lifted him above the more vehement speakers of that or of any other time was his burning devotion to his country: whether his country was right or wrong he hardly knew or cared. That strength of feeling which the elder generation scouted, broke out in Pitt in the form of enthusiasm —not for any cause sacred to humanity at large, but for the power and greatness of his country. Naturally, he attacked Spain for her claim to the right of search, and for her barbarities to English seamen, whilst he never thought of mentioning the provocation given by the English smugglers.

Coach built for William Herrick, Esq., of Beaumanor, in 1740.

5. **Impending War. 1738—1739.**—Members of the united opposition had at last a popular cry in their favour. Before the end of **1738** they produced a certain Captain Jenkins, who declared —probably with truth—that his ear had been cut off seven years before on board his own ship by a Spanish coastguard, and who took what he declared to be his ear out of a box to show to a committee of the House of Commons. The Spaniard, he said, had bidden him to take his ear to his king. "I recommended," he explained, when asked what his thoughts had been on the occasion, "my soul to my God, and my cause to my country." The words were repeated from one end of England to the other. "No search!" became the popular cry. In vain Walpole, early in **1739**, announced that Spain had agreed to a treaty indemnifying those English sailors who had suffered actual wrong. The treaty

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made such large counter-demands on England that its concessions were more nominal than real. The opposition grew in strength, and before the end of 1739 England went to war with Spain.

6. **The Spanish War and the Resignation of Walpole. 1739—1742.**—No one now doubts that it would have been better for Walpole if he had resigned rather than direct a war which he regarded as unjustifiable; but the principle that a minister should resign rather than carry out a policy of which he disapproves was not yet thoroughly established, and Walpole perhaps flattered himself that he might be able to bring about a peace sooner than any other minister. He knew that trouble would soon come. "They may ring the bells now"—as he heard the peals from the church steeples celebrating the glad tidings that war had been declared—"before long they will be wringing their hands." At first the war was successful. Admiral Anson sailed round the world, sacked Paita, a Spanish port in Peru, and captured a rich galleon which carried on the trade between Acapulco and Manilla. Admiral Vernon took Porto Bello, on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus of Panama; but he failed in an attack on Cartagena, and in another attack on Santiago. The opposition at home gave all the credit to the Admiral, and all the blame to Walpole, who was held to have done little to support a war of which he disapproved, and who had certainly allowed the navy to deteriorate during the long peace. In 1741 there were fresh elections, and the energy of the opposition, together with the excited feeling of the country, reduced Walpole's followers in the new Parliament. In those days election petitions were decided by a majority of the whole House of Commons, the vote being given strictly on party grounds. Walpole was beaten on the Chippenham election petition by a majority of one, and on February 17, 1742, he resigned, receiving the title of Earl of Orford. He had done his work. England had, under his rule, consolidated herself, and had settled down in contented acceptance of the Hanoverian dynasty and the Parliamentary government established at the Revolution. It was inexplicable to Walpole that the first result of the national unity which he had brought about should be a national determination to go to war in the assertion of the claims of England.

7. **The New Administration. 1742.**—There was some difficulty in forming a new ministry. Politicians who had agreed in attacking Walpole agreed in nothing else, and each thought that his own claim to office was superior to that of the others. So hopeless did the task of composing their differences appear, that Pulteney,

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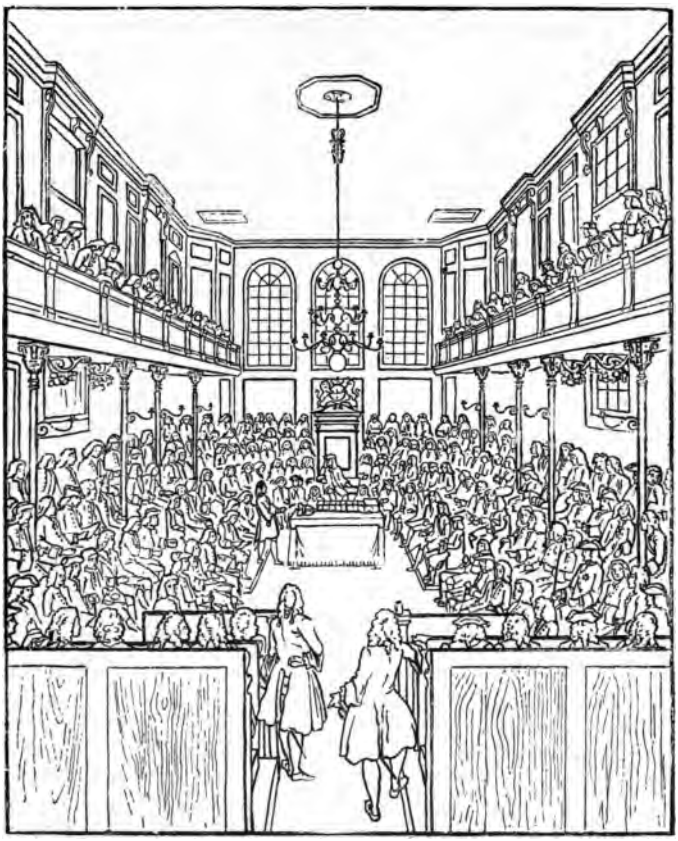
who had led the late opposition in the House of Commons, refused to take office, and consoled himself with being made Earl of Bath. "Here we are, my Lord!" said the new Earl of Orford to his former rival, when he met him in the House of Lords—"the two most in-



A sitting in the House of Commons in 1741–42: from an engraving by Pine.

significant men in England." Orford knew that to leave the House of Commons was to abandon power. At last the new ministry was got together, partly from Walpole's enemies and partly from his friends. Sir Spencer Compton—now made Earl of Wilmington—

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became First Lord of the Treasury. He had not talents enough to succeed to the Prime-ministership which Walpole had created. The new administration did what it could to bring Walpole to punishment, but a Committee of the House of Commons failed to substantiate any charge against him.

8. **Carteret and Newcastle. 1742.**—The ministers were too jealous of each other to admit that anyone could be first amongst them. The two Secretaries of State were the Duke of Newcastle, the head of the Pelham family, and Lord Carteret. Newcastle was ignorant and incompetent, and made himself ridiculous by his fussy attempts to appear energetic. He always, it was said, lost half an hour in the morning and spent the rest of the day in running after it. He had one ruling passion—the love of power, not for the sake of any great policy, but because he enjoyed the distribution of patronage. He was himself incorruptible, but he took pleasure in corrupting others. In the morning his ante-chamber was crowded with place-hunters, and he sometimes rushed out of his bedroom with his face covered with soap-suds to announce to one applicant or another that he was able to gratify him by making his brother a bishop or some poor dependant a tidewaiter. The character of the person appointed was of no moment. One disappointed suitor was heard to mutter, as he left the room: "I was turned out of the navy, I was too debauched to enter the army, and they will not even give me preferment in the Church!" Carteret, on the other hand, was an able statesman, especially in the department of foreign affairs. He was as energetic as he was able, and as his knowledge of the German language and of German politics quickly gained him the king's favour, he soon became the leading man in the ministry. Practically he inherited Walpole's Prime-ministership, though his authority was by no means so undisputed as Walpole's had been in the later years of his ministry.

9. **Beginning of the War of the Austrian Succession. 1740—1742.**—When Carteret came into office, Europe was distracted by a fresh war. The Emperor Charles VI. having no son, had persuaded his various hereditary states to accept an arrangement known as the Pragmatic Sanction, according to which they all agreed to transfer their allegiance to his daughter Maria Theresa at his death, and he subsequently obtained from the principal European Governments an acknowledgment of the validity of this document. He died in 1740, and though Maria Theresa—the Queen of Hungary, as she was called from her principal title—was accepted as ruler by all her father's states, Charles Albert,

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Elector of Bavaria, put forth a claim to Bohemia and the Arch-duchy of Austria. France, anxious to make herself supreme in Germany

Election Scenes—'The Canvass': from a painting by Hogarth.

by the disruption of the dominions of the House of Austria, took up his cause. Frederick II., who had just succeeded to the throne of Prussia, and to the command of a large, well-disciplined army, seized

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the opportunity to lay claim to Maria Theresa's province of Silesia, and in 1741 he defeated the Austrians at Mollwitz. In the same

Election Scenes—The Poll: from a painting by Hogarth.

year a French army crossed the Rhine in support of the Elector of Bavaria, who early in 1742 was chosen emperor under the name of Charles VII. In the summer of 1742 Maria Theresa signed the

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treaty of Breslau, by which she ceded Silesia to Frederick, hoping to be enabled thereby to cope with her other enemies.

Election Scenes—The Chairing of the Member: *from a painting by Hogarth.*

10. Carteret's Diplomacy. 1742—1744.—The English people sympathised with Maria Theresa, and George II. warmly supported

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her against the French. Carteret's policy was to bring about a good understanding between Frederick and Maria Theresa, and

Election Scenes—The Election Dinner: from a painting by Hogarth

to unite all Germany against the French. He very nearly succeeded in his object. In 1743 George II. was in Germany at the head of an army of Hessians and Hanoverians, combined with

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Dutch and Austrian forces. On June 27 he defeated the French at Dettingen on the Main. In July the new Bavarian emperor undertook to desert the French on condition of receiving a subsidy from England; and if this arrangement had been carried out, all Germany would probably have been united against France. Newcastle, however, being jealous of Carteret, and too timid to embark on so far-sighted a combination, refused to sanction the agreement, and the German powers were soon once more in strife with one another. In **1744** Frederick and Maria Theresa were again at war, and France—with which, in spite of the battle of Dettingen, only the German Electorate of Hanover, and not England, had as yet been avowedly at war—now declared war against England. Charles Edward, the son of the Pretender—who was known in England as the Young Pretender, and amongst his own friends as the Prince of Wales—was sent with a French fleet to invade England. The fleet was, however, shattered by a storm, and the danger was thus for a time averted.

11. **Carteret and the Family Compact. 1743—1744.**—Carteret's object had been to take up again the policy of the Whigs of Anne's time as opposed to the policy of the time of Walpole. The former had aimed at a general European combination against France, the latter at keeping the peace by a French alliance. Reasons were not wanting for such a change of policy. France was now formidable, not only on account of her renewed military strength, but by reason of her close alliance with Spain (with which England was still at war), the Family Compact—first signed in **1733** (see p. 725)—having been renewed in **1743**. Carteret, who had a better knowledge of Continental affairs—and especially of German affairs—than any man of his day, thought it wise to oppose so dangerous a combination. There were, however, many difficulties in his way, even as far as the Continent was concerned. The German powers were too intent on their own quarrels to be easily brought to care for common interests, and, as far as England was concerned, Carteret could not reasonably expect support. England had roused herself sufficiently to care for the welfare of her trade and the protection of her smugglers, but she was far more of a maritime than of a Continental power; and, whilst the effects of the Family Compact—not a syllable of which had yet been made public—were seen in a close alliance between France and Spain on the Continent, no such effects had as yet been seen at sea. When Spain was attacked by England in **1739** France had given no help to her ally. As Carteret was more

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remiss even than Walpole in carrying on the maritime war against Spain, people unfairly thought that all his continental schemes were merely the fruit of his subservience to the king's predilection for anything that would profit the Hanoverian electorate. Pitt, who afterwards took up much of Carteret's policy, thundered against him with passionate invective as the base minister who was selling the interests of England for the profit of Hanover.

12. **Carteret's Fall. 1744.**—Other causes contributed to weaken Carteret. He had no voice in the military arrangements, and the armies were put under worn-out or incompetent officers. His greatest weakness, however, arose from his never having sat in

Grenadier of the First Regiment of Footguards, 1745.

Uniform of the Footguards, 1745.

the House of Commons, and his consequent inability to understand its ways. "I want," he said to a young politician, "to instil a noble ambition into you; to make you knock the heads of the kings of Europe together, and jumble out something that may be of service to this country." "What is it to me," he said on another occasion, "who is made a judge or who is a bishop? It is my business to make kings and emperors, and to maintain the balance of Europe." "Then," was the obvious reply, "those who want to be bishops and judges will apply to those who submit to make it their business." Newcastle, at least, stuck to the work of making judges and bishops, and thereby gained the House

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of Commons to his side. He insisted on Carteret's dismissal, and on November 23, 1744, Carteret—who had just become, by his mother's death, Earl Granville—was driven, in spite of the king's warm support, to resign office.

13. **The Broad-bottomed Administration. 1744.**—Henry Pelham, Newcastle's brother, who had for some time been First Lord of the Treasury, now became virtually Prime Minister. He was a good man of business, and anxious to return to Walpole's policy of peace. His administration was distinguished as the Broad-bottomed Administration, because everyone whose influence or talents rendered him at all dangerous was at once given a place in it. The consequence was that, for the only time since party-government began, there was no Opposition in the House of Commons. For the present, indeed, the king refused to admit Pitt to office, but Pitt knew that the ministers were friendly to him, and abstained from attacking them. When once, however, the Pelhams had turned out Granville, they forgot their professions, and squandered English money on Hanoverian troops and German princes, without any of Carteret's genius to enable them to use their allies for any good purpose whatever. A large British force, indeed, joined the allies to defend the Netherlands against a French army at that time under a great general, Marshal Saxe; and on May 1, 1745, a battle was fought at Fontenoy. The British column, headed by the king's second son, the Duke of Cumberland, pressed steadily on into the heart of the French line, and, driving everything before it, all but won the day. The Dutch, however, failed to second it, and the French guard, falling upon the isolated column, drove it back. The British army had maintained its honourable traditions, but the French gained the battle; and the frontier towns of the Austrian Netherlands fell at once into their hands.

14. **The Young Pretender in Scotland. 1745.**—The French victory at Fontenoy encouraged Charles Edward to try his fortunes in Scotland. On July 25, 1745, he landed in Moidart, in the West Highlands, with only seven friends, known afterwards as the "seven men of Moidart." The few Highland chiefs who came to meet him shook their heads at his rash enterprise; but his gallant bearing and persuasive words soon swept away their scruples, and they bade their clans follow a prince who had thrown himself on the generosity of the Highlanders. On August 19 Charles Edward raised the Royal Standard in Glenfinnan, and was soon at the head of 1,600 men. It was a small force with

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which to overrun Scotland, but the Prince had the best of allies in the incapacity of the British commander, Sir John Cope. Military commands were at that time bestowed on men whose friends had influence enough to secure votes to the government in Parliament; and inquiry was seldom made, when an officer was selected for promotion, whether he was in any way fit for the post. Cope inexplicably withdrew to Inverness, and Charles Edward marched straight upon Edinburgh. In Scotland the traders, having gained much by the Union, were Hanoverians to a man;[1] but a large part of the population of Edinburgh regretted the loss of the advantages which the town had possessed as a capital, and there was, moreover, a widespread dissatisfaction with the Hanoverian government, because it had imposed an excise on whisky. In Edinburgh, therefore, Charles Edward was welcomed. Before long Cope returned by sea from Inverness to Dunbar, at the head of his little army of 2,200 men. On the morning of September 21, as day was breaking, Charles Edward, now at the head of 2,500 Highlanders, fell upon him at Preston Pans. With a yell and a rush, the Highlanders broke up the English ranks. Cope himself was amongst the foremost in the flight.

15. **The March to Derby.** 1745.—Many of the Highlanders returned to their glens with their booty, but reinforcements streamed in, and Charles Edward, now at the head of 6,000 men, crossed the Border, hoping to rouse England in his support. England was strangely apathetic. Walpole and the Whigs had weaned Englishmen of Jacobitism, but they had never appealed to any popular sentiment, and though few joined Charles Edward, there was no general rising against him. They found numbers were gathering round. They gave London a good fright. The king's guards were sent out to Finchley to defend London, and troops from other quarters gathered menacingly round Charles Edward's line of march. When on December 5 the Highlanders reached Derby, they were exposed to an attack from forces far superior to their own; and, further progress being hopeless, they turned back. The king had made ready to leave England if necessary; and it is said that on Black Friday – as it was called—the Bank of England cashed cheques in sixpences, in order to delay payment as long as possible.

16. **Falkirk and Culloden.** 1746.—Charles Edward won one more victory. On January 17 he defeated Hawley—a general as

[1] The character of Baillie Nicol Jarvie in Scott's 'Rob Roy' conveys much instruction on this point.

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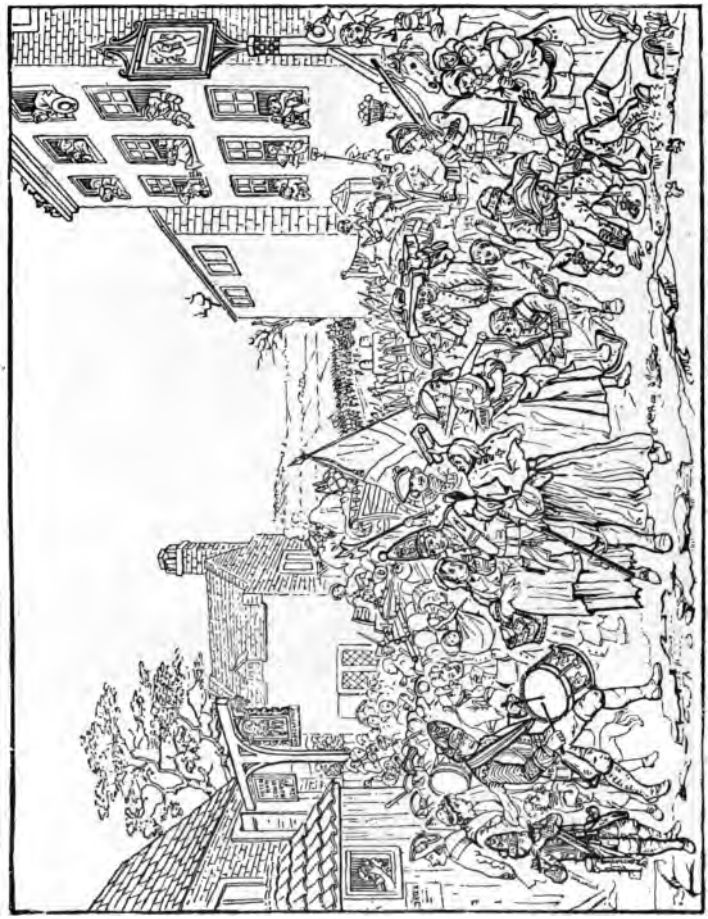
incompetent as Cope—at Falkirk. The Duke of Cumberland, however, advanced into Scotland with an army of 8,000, whilst Charles Edward (who retreated to Inverness) had now but 5,000 with him.



Hogarth's 'March to Finchley,' 1745.

Cumberland was not a great general, but he had some knowledge of the art of war. His men, moreover, were well drilled, and the advantage of superior training soon became manifest. On the

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morning of April 16, Charles Edward tried to surprise Cumberland on Culloden Moor. The Highlanders arrived too late in the field for a surprise, but they charged as vigorously as at Preston Pans. They broke the first line of the enemy, but the second line held

The Rt. Hon. William Pitt, Paymaster of the Forces, afterwards Earl of Chatham: from a painting by Hoare.

firm, and they were broken in turn. Cumberland slaughtered his now helpless enemies with unrelenting cruelty, and gained for himself the name of the Butcher, which he never lost. The wounded were dragged from their hiding-places and shot, and a building in

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which twenty disabled Highlanders had sought refuge was burnt to the ground with the wretched fugitives inside it. Charles Edward himself wandered long amongst the mountains. Though a heavy price was set on his head, not a Highlander would betray him. At one moment, when escape seemed impossible, a young lady, Flora Macdonald, dressed him as her maidservant, and thus carried him off in safety. At last he succeeded in making his way back to France. His later life was aimless, and he sank into drunkenness. He did not die till **1788**, and his brother Henry, who had become a Cardinal, survived till **1807**. Henry was the last descendant, in the male line, of the House of Stuart, though there are descendants of Henrietta, the youngest daughter of Charles I., still living, amongst whom the most conspicuous is the present King of Italy.

17. **The Pelhams and the King. 1745.**—The Pelhams made use of the struggle in Scotland to press for Pitt's admission to the ministry, and, on the king's refusal, resigned office. George II. ordered Granville (see p. 739) to form a ministry, but Granville found it impossible to gain the support of a majority in the Houses, and in forty-eight hours he gave up the task. The Pelhams were reinstated in power, bringing Pitt with them. It was the first thorough acknowledgment by a king that he was powerless in the face of Parliament. It is true that the majority commanded by the Pelhams was secured by unblushing corruption; but there was as yet no popular sentiment opposed to that corruption to which the king could appeal.

18. **End of the War. 1746—1748.**—The war on the Continent still continued. The French overran the Austrian Netherlands, but were checked in Italy, whilst the English were successful at sea. At last, in **1748**, a general peace was made at Aix-la-Chapelle, every power restoring its conquests with the exception of Frederick, who kept Silesia for Prussia.

19. **End of Henry Pelham's Ministry. 1748—1754.**—The remainder of Henry Pelham's ministry was uneventful. In **1582** Pope Gregory XIII. had set straight an error which had grown up in the Calendar, and the new Gregorian Calendar had by this time been adopted by most European powers. England, however, had long objected even to be set right by a Pope, and in the eighteenth century the almanac was eleven days wrong. What was really, for instance, September 11 was known in England as September 1. In **1751** an Act of Parliament ordered that eleven days should be dropped out of the calendar, in order to make the reckoning correct. Large numbers of people fancied that they were cheated out of

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eleven days' pay, and mobs went about, shouting, "Give us our eleven days." In 1754 Henry Pelham died. The new constitutional doctrine that England was governed by the Cabinet, and that the Cabinet could retain office irrespective of the king's goodwill if it could secure the support of Parliament, was now fully established.

Books recommended for the further study of Part VIII.

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PARNELL, Colonel. War of the Spanish Succession.
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Vol. 8 (1660–1702) by Richard Lodge.
Vol. 9 (1702–1760) by T. S. Leadam.

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PART IX

THE FALL OF THE WHIGS AND THE RISE OF THE NEW TORYISM. 1754—1789

CHAPTER XLVII

NEWCASTLE AND PITT. 1754—1760

LEADING DATES

Reign of George II., 1727–1760

Newcastle Prime Minister	1754
Beginning of the Seven Years' War	1756
Ministry of Devonshire and Pitt	1756
Coalition between Pitt and Newcastle	1757
Conquest of Cape Breton	1758
Capture of Quebec	1759
Conquest of Canada	1760
Death of George II.	Oct. 25, 1760

Formation of the East India Company	1600
Death of Aurungzebe	1707
Clive's Defence of Arcot	1751
Battle of Plassey	1757
Battle of Wandewash	1760

1. **Butler, Wesley, and Whitefield. 1736—1754.**—In religion as well as in politics everything savouring of enthusiasm had long been scouted, and in polite society little of moral earnestness was to be found. There had, indeed, been much discussion as to the truth of Christianity, and for a long time there was a steady growth of opinion in favour of deism. Latterly, however, there had been a strong reaction in favour of Christian doctrines. Their noblest advocate, Butler, whose *Analogy* was published in 1736, writing as he did for educated men, appealed to the reason rather than to the heart. The task of moving the masses fell into the hands of John

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Wesley, who had in his youth striven to live a pious, beneficent life at Oxford, where he and his followers had been nicknamed Methodists. In 1738, Wesley came to believe that no real Christianity was possible without conversion, or a supernatural conviction of salvation. That which he believed he taught, and his enthusiasm gained him followers, in whom he kindled zeal equal to his own. Wesley was a minister of the Church of England, and in that Church he wished to abide; but the clergy counted him as a madman, and, in 1739, he was obliged to gather his followers elsewhere than in churches. Whitefield, a born orator, whose views were very similar to those of Wesley, preferred to preach in the open air. He stirred the hearts of immense crowds, as many as twenty thousand sometimes coming to hear him. At Kingswood, near Bristol, the colliers flocked to him in multitudes, their tears flowing down in white streaks over faces blackened with coal-dust. Wesley was, however, the organiser of the movement, and gathered into congregations those who had been converted, teaching them to confess their sins one to another, and to relate in public their spiritual experiences. There was no room for such enthusiasm in the Church of that day, and, much against his will, Wesley was compelled to organise his congregations outside the Church. What he and Whitefield did had a value, apart from their system and teaching. They reminded their generation that man has a heart as well as a head, and that the cultivation of the intellect is not all that is necessary to raise human nature above brutality; and thus they stirred to higher and purer thoughts thousands of their countrymen who were sunk in inertness and vice. As a matter of course they were persecuted, and men of intelligence and position thought it well that it should be so.

2. **Fielding and Hogarth.**—In literature and art, as well as in religion, a new life was making itself manifest. Fielding, in his 'Tom Jones' and 'Joseph Andrews,' has been styled the creator of the modern novel in its portraiture of living humanity. Hogarth was undoubtedly the originator of an English school of painting. Both Fielding and Hogarth were often coarse in expression, but their tendencies were moral, and their work robust and vigorous.

3. **Newcastle, Pitt, and Fox. 1754–1755.**—In politics, too, the time of drowsy inaction was coming to an end. "Now," said George II., when he heard of Pelham's death, "I shall have no peace." Newcastle was, indeed, appointed First Lord of the Treasury and was regarded as Prime Minister in his brother's place, but Newcastle had not his brother's capacity for business,

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and, besides that, he was not in the House of Commons. He must choose some one to lead the House of Commons, and there were three persons on whom his choice might fall: Murray, Pitt, and Henry Fox. Murray, who was the greatest lawyer of the day, had no ambition except that of becoming Chief Justice, and was disqualified by his professional turn of mind from occupying a political post. Newcastle objected to Pitt as too opinionated, whilst Fox seemed just the man to suit him. Newcastle and Fox both loved corruption, but whilst Newcastle loved it for the sake of the pleasure of exercising patronage, Fox loved it for the sake of its profits. Fox was the ablest debater of his day, and might have risen high if he had not preferred to hold unimportant but well-paid posts rather than important posts of which the pay was less. He now refused Newcastle's proposal that he should lead the House of Commons, because Newcastle insisted on keeping the secret-service money—in other words, the money spent in bribing men to vote for the government—in his own hands. Fox truly said that it was impossible for him to ask members for their votes unless he knew whether they had been bribed or not. Accordingly Newcastle appointed Sir Thomas Robinson to lead the House. Robinson was a diplomatist, who having been long absent from England, knew nothing about the ways of members. Pitt and Fox, agreeing in nothing else, joined in baiting Robinson. Whenever he made a mistake they ironically took his part on the ground that he had been so long abroad that he could not be expected to know better. Robinson threw up his post in disgust, and, in 1755, Fox abandoning the conditions on which he had formerly insisted became Secretary of State with the leadership of the House of Commons.

4. **The French in America. 1754.**—In 1754, when Newcastle succeeded his brother as Prime Minister, there was already danger of a war with France. In North America France possessed Louisiana, at the mouth of the Mississippi, and Canada, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Between the two was a vast region, at that time only inhabited by Indians, who used it for purposes of hunting, and sold furs to the French Canadians. France, which already possessed a line of scattered forts between Canada and Louisiana, claimed the whole of the region to the west of the Alleghany Mountains as her own. On the other hand, there were now thirteen English colonies, and the colonists were beginning to find their way westward over the mountains, especially at the head of the Ohio river, refusing to be penned in by the French forts beyond the Alleghanies. Between the English and the French colonists

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fighting began in 1754. The contest then begun was one for the possession of the basin of the Ohio, though the possession of that would ultimately bring with it the power to colonise the far vaster basin of the Mississippi and its affluents. Therein lay the answer to a further question, as yet unsuspected, whether the English or the French was to be the predominating race in America and in the world of the future. Great Britain was once more drifting into a war which, like the war with Spain in 1739, would be one for mercantile and colonial expansion. The difference was that, whereas in 1739 she was matched with the decaying monarchy of Spain, she was now matched against the vigorous monarchy of France. The Family Compact uniting Spain and France had as yet caused little real danger to England. As France had shown no signs of supporting Spain in America in 1739, Spain showed no signs of supporting France in 1754.

5. **Newcastle's Blundering. 1754—1756.**—Newcastle was not the man to conduct a great war successfully. In 1754, hearing that the French had established a fort called Fort Duquesne, at the head of the Ohio valley, he sent General Braddock from England to capture it. In 1755 Braddock, one of those brave, but unintelligent officers of whom there were many in the British service, falling into an ambuscade of French and Indians, was himself killed and his troops routed. Newcastle could not make up his mind whether to fight or not. It was finally resolved that, though war was not to be declared, Hawke was, by way of reprisal for the capture of British shipping, to seize any French ships he met with. Naturally, when Hawke carried out these instructions, the French regarded the seizure of their ships as an act of piracy. Meanwhile George II. was frightened lest Hanover should be lost if a war broke out, and, by his direction, Newcastle agreed to treaties giving subsidies to various German states and even to Russia, in return for promises to find troops for the defence of Hanover. Against this system Pitt openly declared himself. "I think," he said, "regard ought to be had to Hanover, if it should be attacked on our account; but we could not find money to defend it by subsidies, and if we could that is not the way to defend it." Behind Pitt was the rising spirit of the nation, eager to enter on a struggle for colonial empire, but not wishing to incur loss for the sake of the king's German electorate. Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a close ally of Pitt, refused to give the money needed to pay a subsidy to Hesse, and both he and Pitt were dismissed from their offices. Newcastle had an overwhelming majority in both Houses, but so helpless was he that in 1756 he

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actually asked the king to bring Hanoverian and Hessian soldiers to England to save it from a French invasion.

6. **The Loss of Minorca. 1756.**—The weakness of the Government weakened the hands of its officers. In **1756** a French fleet and army assailed Port Mahon, in the island of Minorca, which was still a British possession. Admiral Byng set out to relieve it, but, though he was brave, he was deficient in energy, and, finding the French ships more numerous than his own, thought it prudent to withdraw without serious fighting. Before long the whole of Minorca fell into the hands of the French. Port Mahon and Gibraltar were the two ports on which English maritime operations in the Mediterranean could be based, and it is therefore no wonder that there was a howl of indignation in England at the loss of one of them. The popular theory was that Byng had been bribed to avoid fighting. The charge was utterly false, but so many bribes were taken in those days that it cannot be said to have been unreasonable. Byng was brought home to await his trial.

7. **Beginning of the Seven Years' War. 1756.**—After this, war was at last declared. What might have been the result if England and France had been obliged to fight it out alone, it is impossible to say. France, however, had other enemies than England. Whilst England had only a sea frontier, France had a land frontier as well, and, therefore, whilst England was able to throw her main strength into a struggle for mastery on the sea and for the acquisition of colonies, France threw her main strength into her efforts to become predominant by land, and consequently neglected her navy and her colonies. She now, at the very time when England was ready to challenge her power in America, embarked on a war in Europe which was alone sufficient to occupy her energy. This time she forsook her old policy of hostility to Austria, and joined with Austria, Russia, and the German states to attack and dismember Prussia. The war which was thus begun in **1756** is known as the Seven Years' War.

8. **Ministry of Devonshire and Pitt. 1756—1757.**—So strong was the feeling aroused by Newcastle's incompetence that his own subordinates were frightened. In October, **1756**, Fox resigned, and no one could be found to fill his place. Murray would give no help to the ministry, and was allowed to become Chief Justice, with the title of Lord Mansfield, under which he is known as one of the greatest of English judges. Newcastle, helpless and frightened lest the mob which was raving for the hanging of Byng should want to hang him too, also resigned. The Duke of Devonshire

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became First Lord of the Treasury, with Pitt as Secretary of State and practically Prime Minister. At once Pitt took vigorous measures for the prosecution of the war. Money was raised, and men levied. It was not, however, merely by his energy that Pitt differed from the former ministers. Newcastle relied on a Parliamentary majority acquired by influence and corruption; Pitt had confidence in the nation and in himself as well. "My Lord," he said to Devonshire, "I know that I can save this nation and that nobody else can." He understood how to inspire the confidence which he needed. He sent out of England the Hanoverian and Hessian troops which had been brought over to protect the country, and passed a Bill for re-organising the national militia. He even raised regiments in the very Highlands, out of the men who had been the most vigorous enemies of the House of Hanover, knowing that the Highlanders had fought under Charles Edward far more because they were poor than because they reverenced the House of Stuart. On the other hand, he moved for a grant of 200,000*l.* for the protection of Hanover. It seemed as if Pitt was about to fall back on the policy of Carteret. There was, however, this difference, that whereas with Carteret the war on the Continent was alone thought of, with Pitt intervention on the Continent was regarded as subsidiary to the great colonial struggle on which England was now embarked.

9. **Pitt's Dismissal. 1757.**—Pitt was the most popular man in England, but he had only a scanty following in the House of Commons, and he was disliked by the king on account of his former declamations against payments for the sake of Hanover. Whilst he was in office Byng was brought to trial and condemned to be shot as a coward, which he certainly was not. Pitt pleaded for Byng's life with the king, telling him that the House of Commons was favourably disposed. "You have taught me," was George's reply, "to look for the sense of my people in other places than the House of Commons." Byng received no pardon, and died bravely, having been guilty of no more than an error of judgment. Soon afterwards the king dismissed Pitt. At once there was an outburst of feeling in his favour. "For some weeks," wrote a brilliant letter-writer of the day, "it rained gold boxes." The reference was to the boxes in which numerous corporations sent the freedom of their respective cities or boroughs to Pitt.

10. **Nature of Pitt's Popularity. 1757.**—Pitt's popularity, though wide-spread, was not like that by which a popular statesman is supported at the present day. It was not a popularity amongst

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the nation at large, of which the majority could not at that time either read or write, or appreciate a political discussion. Pitt's enthusiastic admirers were to be found amongst the merchants and tradesmen of the towns. These were the men who had built up England's commercial prosperity by their thrift and honesty. Amongst them the profligacy, the drunkenness, and the gambling which disgraced polite society found little place. They had borne long with Newcastle and his like because times had been quiet, and the Government, scandalous as it was, never harassed Englishmen in their business or their pleasure. Now that times were dangerous they called for Pitt—the Great Commoner, as they styled him—to assume power, not because they were conscious of his latent capacity for statesmanship, but because they knew him to be even ostentatiously uncorrupt. To the end of his life Pitt called himself a Whig, but his hostility to a system of government in which patronage was distributed to those who could bring most votes to the Government, without regard to merit, led him to place himself in opposition to Newcastle, and ultimately led to his estrangement from the great Whig families. By opposing power derived from popular support to power based on parliamentary connection, he introduced into constitutional struggles an element which had long been left out of account, and thus became (though unintentionally) a precursor of the new Toryism which, in the hands of his son, broke the power of the Whigs.

11. **Coalition between Pitt and Newcastle. 1757.** — The middle class in the towns formed, at this time, the most vigorous element in English society; but it disposed of few votes in Parliament. The great majority in the House of Commons sought for loaves and fishes, and as they knew that incompetency might hope for reward from Newcastle but not from Pitt, they steadily voted as Newcastle bade them, even after he had ceased to hold office. Newcastle, however, could not make up his mind whether he wished to resume office or not. He was too fond of the lower sort of power to share it willingly with any colleague whose intelligence was greater than his own, and too timid to grasp authority at a time when it was dangerous to its possessor. Accordingly, he long vacillated between acceptance and refusal, and for eleven weeks there was no ministry at all. At last an admirable arrangement was made. A coalition was effected between Newcastle and Pitt. Newcastle was to be First Lord of the Treasury to manage the business of patronage, and Pitt was to be Secretary of State to manage the business of politics and war. Both were

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satisfied; Newcastle gave to Pitt the Parliamentary majority which he wanted, and Pitt took on himself the responsibility which Newcastle shunned. Fox got a lucrative appointment without political influence, and in a few years made himself enormously rich.

12. **Military Disasters. 1757.**—When Pitt took office in combination with Newcastle things were going badly. In America, French reinforcements were poured into Canada, and an attempt made by Lord Loudon, the British commander, to take Louisburg, a strong fortress which guarded the French island of Cape Breton, failed signally. In Germany, the king of Prussia, Frederick the Great, after overrunning Saxony in the preceding year, now, in **1757**, attempted to overrun Bohemia. After winning a battle at Prague in May, he was disastrously defeated at Kolin in June, and driven out of the country. A French army, in the meanwhile, entered Hanover and defeated the Duke of Cumberland at Hastenbeck; after which Cumberland signed the Convention of Closterseven in September, leaving Hanover in the hands of the enemy. "Here is my son," said George II. of him when he returned to England, "who has ruined me and disgraced himself."

13. **Pitt and Frederick the Great. 1757—1758.**—Pitt set himself to remedy the mischief, as far as he could. His plans for military action were often faulty, but he had indomitable courage, and an almost unique power of inspiring others with courage. Boldly throwing aside the traditions of the century, according to which appointments in the army and navy were given to men of good birth, or of families whose favour would bring votes in Parliament, he chose commanders for their merit. Every young officer knew that Pitt's eye was on him, and that he would be promoted if he conducted himself well, even if he were poor and friendless. A new spirit was breathed into both services. Before Pitt could achieve anything, Frederick's military genius had given him the mastery over his enemies. In November the King of Prussia smote down the French at Rossbach, and in December he smote down the Austrians at Leuthen. Pitt at once saw that a close alliance with Frederick was necessary if England was to maintain her struggle with France beyond the Atlantic. In **1758**, therefore, he repudiated the Convention of Closterseven, which had not been brought into a binding form, gave a subsidy of 700,000*l.* a year to Frederick, and sent 12,000 English soldiers to join the Hanoverian army in defending Hanover. The commander of this force was Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, one of the best of Frederick's generals. In June the Prince defeated the French at Crefeld.

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Frederick had, in the meanwhile, driven back the Russians at Zorndorf, but late in the year was beaten at Hochkirch by the Austrians.

14. **Fighting in France and America. 1757—1758.**—Both in **1757** and in **1758** Pitt sent expeditions to harass the French at home. In **1757** an attempt to take Rochefort failed through dissensions amongst the commanders. One expedition, in **1758**, destroyed some French ships and stores at St. Malo, whilst a second did some damage at Cherbourg, but was driven off with heavy loss in the Bay of St. Cast. In America Pitt made a great effort to gain his ends. He dismissed the incompetent Loudon, and appointed Abercrombie to command in chief, placing under his orders young men whose ability and energy he had noted, of whom the most conspicuous was Wolfe, who had distinguished himself in the abortive attempt on Rochefort. England's superiority at sea now told heavily in her favour. In the course of **1758** Louisburg and Fort Duquesne were taken, though Abercrombie was repulsed at Ticonderoga. In America the British troops, supported as they were by the colonial militia, far outnumbered the French. France was so fully occupied in Germany that she was unable to send more than scanty reinforcements to the Marquis of Montcalm, the commander of the French army in Canada, who had, therefore, to defend the French possessions in America against heavy odds.

15. **The Campaign in Canada. 1759.**—Pitt planned a serious attack on Canada for **1759**. Abercrombie, having failed at Ticonderoga, was discarded. Three armies were to be brought from distant points to meet before Quebec, the fortified capital of Canada. Amherst, who replaced Abercrombie, was to capture Ticonderoga and Crown Point, push up by way of Lake Champlain, and approach Quebec from the south. Prideaux and Johnson were to capture Fort Niagara and approach it from the west. Wolfe was to sail up the St. Lawrence and to approach it from the east. The idea that three armies, separated by vast and thinly populated regions, could be brought to co-operate at a given time was essentially faulty. In fact, though the western army captured Niagara and the southern army captured Ticonderoga and Crown Point, neither of them got near Quebec that year. Wolfe found himself, with his troops, alone at the meeting-point on the St. Lawrence. The position of Quebec is exceedingly strong, lying between two rivers, the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles. Behind it rise the Heights of Abraham, which are easily defensible, as it has steep cliffs on the river sides. Around the defences of the town Montcalm

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A view of Cape Diamond, Plains of Abraham, and part of the town of Quebec and the river St. Lawrence; from an engraving in the Map Department of the British Museum, taken from a drawing by Lieutenant Fisher.

". . . Cape Diamond, on which stand the citadel and fortifications of Quebec, constitutes the most prominent feature in the landscape. The Plains of Abraham . . . form part of a ridge of land of which the cape itself is the extremity. The town is, for the most part, built on the opposite side of this promontory. The view is taken from the opposite side of the river, about two miles above Quebec."

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manœuvred with admirable skill; and though Wolfe landed his army, he could neither pass his adversary by nor compel him to fight. The season was growing late, and it seemed as if the British general would be forced to return home without accomplishing his task.

16. **The Conquest of Canada. 1759—1760.**—The St. Lawrence, as it flows by Quebec, is a broad and navigable stream, and Wolfe, re-embarking his troops, moved his ships up the river past Quebec,

Wolfe: from the painting by Schaak in the National Portrait Gallery.

hoping to be able to achieve something from that side. Though he had but little hope, he resolved to make one desperate attempt. Placing his men in boats at night he floated with them down the river. Gray's *Elegy* had been recently published, and Wolfe repeated some of its lines to his officers. "Now gentlemen," he said, "I would rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec!" His boats were steered for a point at which there was a zig-zag path up the cliff which edged the Heights of Abraham. It was so narrow that the French had taken no special pre-

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cautions to guard it, and when a few English soldiers reached the top the French sentinels ran off in surprise. The whole British force had time to draw itself up on the plateau of the Heights of Abraham before Montcalm was ready to meet it. In the battle which ensued Wolfe was killed. As he lay dying he heard an officer cry, "See how they run!" Wolfe roused himself to ask, "Who run?" When he heard that it was the enemy he gave orders to cut off their retreat, exclaiming, as he fell back in the arms of his comrades, "God be praised!—I will die in peace." Montcalm, too, was sorely wounded in the battle, and died on the following day. Quebec surrendered, and in **1760** the whole of Canada submitted to the British.

17. **The War in Europe; Naval Successes. 1759.**—In **1759**, the year in which Quebec was captured, the French threatened to invade England. Pitt let loose upon them three admirals. Rodney bombarded Havre and destroyed the boats in which the invading army was to cross the Channel. Boscawen defeated off Lagos in Portugal a fleet which was on its way from Toulon to protect the crossing. Hawke, a seaman of the highest quality, blockaded another fleet at Brest, till it broke out in a storm. Hawke, however, pursued it, and caught it up off Quiberon Bay. Conflans, the French admiral, took refuge amongst the rocks and shoals which guard the mouth of the river Vilaine. Hawke dashed after him, though a gale was blowing. His sailing-master remonstrated with him at the risk he was incurring. "You have done your duty," replied Hawke, "in this remonstrance; you are now to obey my orders and lay me alongside the French admiral." A complete victory was the result.

18. **Progress of the War in Germany. 1759.**—In Germany things went hard with Frederick. Hemmed in by enemies on every side he struggled on with unabated heroism, but with almost continued ill success. The time seemed approaching when Prussia and its king must succumb, borne down by mere numbers; yet the end of **1760** saw Frederick with sadly diminished forces, yet still alert and hopeful of relief, though he knew not where to look for it. Prince Ferdinand and his British and Hanoverian army at least did him good service by warding off the blows of the French. In **1759** the Prince inflicted on a French army at Minden a defeat which would probably have been decisive but for the misconduct of Lord George Sackville, who, being in command of the cavalry, refused, in spite of distinct orders, to charge at a critical moment.

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A naval engagement: defeat of the French off Cape Lagos, August, 1759: from a picture by R. Paton.

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19. **The East India Company. 1600—1698.**—The superabundant energy of the English race, for which Pitt provided an outlet in America, made itself also felt, without assistance from the home Government, in Asia. The East India Company, an association of private merchants, was constituted by a charter from Elizabeth in **1600**, for the purpose of trading in the East. Its most important commerce was for some time with the spice islands of the Eastern Archipelago, but its trade in that quarter was ultimately ruined by the Dutch. In India itself, on the other hand, its factories were secured from violence by the protection of the Great Moguls, the descendants of the Mahomedan conquerors of Northern India, who had at one time fixed their capital at Agra, and at another at Delhi, and who had strengthened their power by a policy of toleration which enabled them to obtain military support from Hindoos as well as from Mussulmans. At the end of the seventeenth century the East India Company held three posts in India. By the permission of a ruler of the Carnatic it had, in **1639**, acquired a piece of ground on which Fort St. George and the town of Madras were built. In **1668** Charles II. made over to the Company Bombay, which he had received from Portugal on his marriage with Catharine of Braganza. In **1686** the Company acquired from the Mogul a piece of ground on the Hoogly, on which it built Fort William, in **1696**, round which the town of Calcutta speedily grew up.

Officer with fusil and gorget. 1759.

20. **Break up of the Empire of the Great Mogul. 1658—1707.** In the meanwhile, Aurungzebe, whose long reign extended from **1658** to **1707** (that is, from the year of the death of Cromwell to the year of the union with Scotland), weakened the Mogul empire, partly by departing from the tolerant policy of his predecessors, and thus alienating his Hindoo warriors by attacks on their religion, and partly by an extension of conquest in the Deccan, or Southern India, whereas the earlier dominions of his predecessors had been confined to the north, properly known as Hindustan. Aurungzebe

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provoked a reaction against his Mahomedan empire in his own lifetime, and the Hindoo chieftain Sivaji founded a powerful Hindoo state amongst the Mahrattas of the highlands of the western Deccan. When Aurungzebe died, in 1707, his vast empire fell to pieces. His lieutenants were known as Subahdars, or viceroys, under whom were Nawabs or governors of smaller districts. Both Subahdars and Nawabs, and even Hindoo Rajahs, who had hitherto been allowed by the Great Mogul to rule in dependence on himself over territories which their ancestors had governed as sovereigns, now raised themselves to practical sovereignty. Yet they continued to acknowledge nominally their dependence on the feeble successors of Aurungzebe at Delhi, just as a king of Prussia or an elector of Bavaria nominally acknowledged the supremacy of the Emperor. Each ruler quarrelled and fought with his neighbour, and the Mahratta armies gained post after post, and the Mahratta horsemen plundered and devastated far and wide.

Uniform of Militia, 1759.

21. The Mahratta Confederacy. 1707—1744.—The Mahratta power seemed likely to become predominant in the whole of India, when it was threatened with disintegration in consequence of the decadence of the House of Sivaji, as marked as the decadence of

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had been boiled. Before the siege, Clive had sent to Morari Rao, a Mahratta chief, for aid. The Mahratta held aloof till he heard of the brave defence of Arcot. "I never thought till now," he said, "that the English could fight; since they can, I will help them." Morari Rao came to Clive's help, and Clive gained one success after another. So fearless was he that he became known amongst the natives as Sabat Jung (the daring in war). In **1753** he returned to England, having established English supremacy in south-eastern India. In **1754** Dupleix went back to France, only to suffer the same ill-treatment which had been the lot of Le Bourdonnais.

24. **The Black Hole of Calcutta. 1756.**—Clive was the servant of a trading company, and his successes were not won like those of Wolfe, a few years later, by the support of the British Government and the valour of a British army. In **1755**, when a war with France was imminent, the East India Company sent him out as the governor of Fort St. David, near Madras. When he arrived in **1756** he heard bad news from Calcutta. Surajah Dowlah, the Subahdar of Bengal, knowing that the English merchants were rich, seized all their property and thrust 145 Englishmen and one Englishwoman into a room measuring only eighteen feet by fourteen. In a space so small, many would have been suffocated even in an English climate. Under the scorching Indian sun few could expect to live. The prisoners called for water, and, though some was brought, the skins which contained it were too large to pass through the bars of the window. The prisoners struggled madly for the smallest drop, trampling one another down to reach it. All through the day, and through the night which followed, men were dying in agony. When morning came the doors were thrown open, and of the 146 who entered, only twenty-three staggered out alive.

25. **The Battle of Plassey. 1757.**—Clive hastened to Bengal to avenge this outrage. He had now with him a regiment in the king's service, and his whole army consisted of 900 Europeans and 1,500 sepoys. On June 23, **1757**, he won a great victory at Plassey over 50,000 men of Surajah Dowlah's army. Clive mingled treachery with force, and had won over Surajah Dowlah's chief officer, Meer Jaffier, to promise to desert his master. Meer Jaffier, however, doubting on which side victory would fall, held back from the fulfilment of his promise till Clive's men had all but won the victory. Meer Jaffier was installed as Subahdar of Bengal, though, in consequence of his virtual dependence on the Company, he and his

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ments and drove him to return to France, where the Government, instead of giving him the honour due to him, threw him into prison. In **1748** Dupleix, who was as able as he was unscrupulous, successfully defended Pondicherry against an attack from the British, who were now supported by the arrival of a fleet. In **1748** the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle compelled him to surrender Madras; but it did not compel him to refrain from pushing his fortune further. The Subahdar of the Deccan, the Nizam-ul-Mulk (whose successors are known by the title of Nizam, which they have derived from him), died in **1748**, and left rival claimants to his power. Dupleix sent French sepoys to support one of the claimants, whilst the English sent English sepoys to support the other. The French candidate defeated his rival, and was installed as Nizam, whilst Dupleix was himself appointed governor of the Carnatic, from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin, by his own puppet the new Nizam. The native Nawab of the Carnatic was subordinated to him. The English settlement at Madras seemed to be incapable of offering further resistance to the French.

23. **Dupleix and Clive. 1751—1754.**—The English were still traders, not warriors, but amongst the clerks in Madras was a young man of twenty-five, Robert Clive. He early showed his undaunted bravery. Having accused an officer of cheating at cards, he was challenged to a duel. His antagonist walked up to him, held his pistol to his head, and bade him withdraw the accusation. "Fire!" cried Clive. "I said you cheated, and I say so still, and I will never pay you." The officer threw down his pistol, saying that Clive was mad. In **1751**, when Dupleix, paying no attention to the treaty of peace which had been signed in Europe between England and France, threatened Madras, Clive, having volunteered as a soldier, was sent to seize Arcot, the capital of the Nawab of the Carnatic, who was dependent on Dupleix. Clive carried with him a force of sepoys, and as he approached Arcot continued his march, though a violent thunderstorm was raging. The garrison of Arcot was so astonished at his fearlessness in facing the storm that they fled in a panic, leaving the place in his hands. Shortly, however, a vast force of the native allies of France laid siege to Arcot, and Clive and his men were all but starved. So complete was the ascendency which Clive had gained over his sepoys that when they discovered that all the provisions except a little rice had been exhausted they begged that he and the few Englishmen with him would take the rice. As for themselves, they would be content with the water in which the rice

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had been boiled. Before the siege, Clive had sent to Morari Rao, a Mahratta chief, for aid. The Mahratta held aloof till he heard of the brave defence of Arcot. "I never thought till now," he said, "that the English could fight; since they can, I will help them." Morari Rao came to Clive's help, and Clive gained one success after another. So fearless was he that he became known amongst the natives as Sabat Jung (the daring in war). In **1753** he returned to England, having established English supremacy in south-eastern India. In **1754** Dupleix went back to France, only to suffer the same ill-treatment which had been the lot of Le Bourdonnais.

24. **The Black Hole of Calcutta. 1756.**—Clive was the servant of a trading company, and his successes were not won like those of Wolfe, a few years later, by the support of the British Government and the valour of a British army. In **1755**, when a war with France was imminent, the East India Company sent him out as the governor of Fort St. David, near Madras. When he arrived in **1756** he heard bad news from Calcutta. Surajah Dowlah, the Subahdar of Bengal, knowing that the English merchants were rich, seized all their property and thrust 145 Englishmen and one Englishwoman into a room measuring only eighteen feet by fourteen. In a space so small, many would have been suffocated even in an English climate. Under the scorching Indian sun few could expect to live. The prisoners called for water, and, though some was brought, the skins which contained it were too large to pass through the bars of the window. The prisoners struggled madly for the smallest drop, trampling one another down to reach it. All through the day, and through the night which followed, men were dying in agony. When morning came the doors were thrown open, and of the 146 who entered, only twenty-three staggered out alive.

25. **The Battle of Plassey. 1757.**—Clive hastened to Bengal to avenge this outrage. He had now with him a regiment in the king's service, and his whole army consisted of 900 Europeans and 1,500 sepoys. On June 23, **1757**, he won a great victory at Plassey over 50,000 men of Surajah Dowlah's army. Clive mingled treachery with force, and had won over Surajah Dowlah's chief officer, Meer Jaffier, to promise to desert his master. Meer Jaffier, however, doubting on which side victory would fall, held back from the fulfilment of his promise till Clive's men had all but won the victory. Meer Jaffier was installed as Subahdar of Bengal, though, in consequence of his virtual dependence on the Company, he and his

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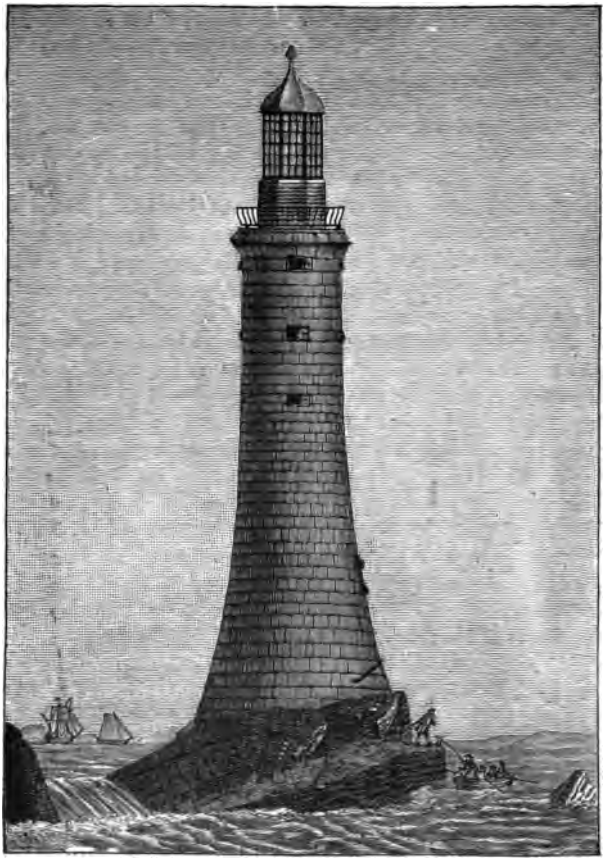
successors are usually known by the inferior title of Nawab. In return for his promotion he was compelled to pay large sums of money to those who raised him to power. Clive received as his



The third Eddystone Lighthouse; built by Smeaton in 1759.

share more than 200,000*l.*, besides a grant of land worth 27,000*l.* a year. Long afterwards, when he was called in question for his part in despoiling Meer Jaffier, he told how he had walked through the treasure-house of the Subahdar at Moorshedabad, where gold

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and jewels were piled on either side. "I am astonished," he added, "at my own moderation."

26. **The Battle of Wandewash and the capture of Pondicherry. 1760—1761.**—Around Madras, in the meanwhile, the French, under Lally, began a fresh struggle for supremacy; but in **1760** Colonel Eyre Coote gained a signal victory at Wandewash, and Pondicherry surrendered to him early in **1761**. The predominance of Englishmen over Frenchmen in India was thus secured. As yet the English did not undertake the actual government of any part of the country. Nominally, the native rulers around Madras retained their powers; but they derived their real strength from the support of the armies which the English had organised mainly out of native soldiers. As far as Bengal was concerned, the government continued to be exercised nominally by Meer Jaffier, the Company only receiving from him the zemindary of the district round Calcutta—that is to say, the right of collecting the land-tax, and of keeping the proceeds upon payment of a quit-rent to Meer Jaffier as subahdar. In point of fact, however, the officials of the Company had everything their own way.

27. **Death of George II. 1760.**—In all that had taken place George II. had little part, except so far as he had given up all thought of resisting ministers with whom he was dissatisfied. "Ministers," he once said, "are the king in this country." On October 25, **1760**, he died suddenly. He was succeeded by his grandson, George III., the son of Frederick, the late Prince of Wales, a young man of twenty-two, whose character and training made it unlikely that he would be content to be thrust into the background as his grandfather had been.

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CHAPTER XLVIII

THE BREAK UP OF THE WHIG PARTY. 1760—1770

LEADING DATES

Reign of George III., 1760–1780

Accession of George III.	Oct. 25, 1760
Resignation of Pitt	Oct. 5, 1761
Bute's Ministry	1762
The Peace of Paris	1763
Ministry of George Grenville	April 8, 1763
The Stamp Act	1765
Ministry of Rockingham	July 10, 1765
Repeal of the Stamp Act	1766
Ministry of Chatham	July 29, 1766
Grafton Prime Minister	1767
American Import Duties	1767
The Middlesex Elections	1768–9
Lord North Prime Minister.	1770

1. **Character of George III. 1760.**—George III. had been educated by his mother the Princess of Wales in the principles of Bolingbroke's *Patriot King*. From her he had learned that it was his duty to break down that coalition of the great Whig families which ruled England by means of the corrupting influence of wealth. "George, be a king," were the words which she had dinned into his ears. He came to the throne resolved to overthrow the Whig party connection by setting his own personal authority above that of the great Whig borough-owners, and to govern, in the interest of the whole nation, by ministers who, having been selected by himself, would be contented to carry out his policy and to act at his dictation. To a certain extent his intentions resembled those of Charles I. Both were well-meaning and desirous of governing in the interests of the nation; but the political situation of the eighteenth differed much from that of the seventeenth century. Charles I. defied the House of Commons, whereas George III. knew that it was necessary to have the House of Commons on his side, and he knew that it could only be gained by a lavish employment of corruption. Personally, he was simple in his tastes, and strictly moral in his habits; but in pursuit of his political aims he

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employed men of the vilest character, and recklessly lavished places and gifts of money on those whose services he required. He seems to have thought that, as the House of Commons chose to put itself up to sale, it was better that he rather than Newcastle should be its purchaser.

2. **The Fall of Pitt. 1761.**—George III. and Pitt joined in detesting the yoke of the Whig families; but they differed as to the remedy for the disease. George III. aimed at crushing them by the exercise of the powers of the Crown; Pitt, by appealing to the people for support. The king's first object, therefore, was to get rid of Pitt. Pitt had raised enemies in the Cabinet by his arrogance, and even amongst his friends there was a growing feeling that all necessary objects of the war had been accomplished. In **1761** Pitt was ready to make peace with France, and was only pursuing his conquests in order to obtain such terms as appeared to him to be reasonable. In June, **1761**, there were fresh English successes, and France would probably have submitted to Pitt's terms, if Charles III., who had recently become king of Spain, had not renewed the Family Compact, knowing that the vast colonial empire of Spain was endangered by the predominance of England in North America. Pitt, having secret intelligence of what had happened, urged the Cabinet to declare war on Spain at once. The Cabinet, however, regarding him as a firebrand, refused to follow him, and on October 5, Pitt resigned office.

3. **Resignation of Newcastle and the Peace of Paris. 1762—1763.**—Pitt was justified by the event. Spain declared war as soon as she thought it convenient to do so; she was, however, utterly unprepared for it. In **1762** one English expedition reduced Cuba and another reduced Manilla, whilst Spanish commerce was swept from the sea. Pitt got all the credit because it was known that he had foreseen the struggle and had made the preparations which had proved successful. In the meanwhile, the ministry was hopelessly divided. Alongside of Newcastle and the Whigs were new ministers who had been introduced by George III. In May, **1762**, Newcastle was driven to resign, and was succeeded by Lord Bute, the nominee of the king. Peace negotiations had for some time been carried on, and on February 10, **1763**, the Peace of Paris was signed. England regained Minorca in the Mediterranean, whilst her possession of Canada, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, besides that of Senegal and of several West Indian islands, was acknowledged by the French. Spain ceded Florida to England and acquired Louisiana from France, receiving back again the other colonies

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which she had lost. In India, France received back the towns which had been taken from her, but she could not regain the influence which had passed from her, and England thus retained her predominance in India as well as in America. Frederick complained bitterly that England had abandoned him ; yet he suffered little loss in consequence. His enemies gave up their attempt to destroy him, and almost at the same time that peace was signed by England with France and Spain at Paris, he signed the peace of Hubertsburg, which left him in full possession of his dominions. The result of the Seven Years' War was briefly this, that the British race had become predominant in North America, and that the Prussia of Frederick the Great maintained itself against all its enemies.

4. **The King and the Tories.** **1762-1763.**—In placing Bute in office George III. made his first attempt to break the power of the Whigs. He had already gathered round him the country gentry whose ancestors had formed the strength of the Tory party in the reign of Anne, and who, now that Jacobitism was extinct, were delighted to transfer their devotion to a Hanoverian king who would lead them against the great landowners. They were joined by certain discontented Whigs, and out of this combination sprung up a new Tory Party. Parties vary in their aims from time to time without changing their names, and the new Tory Party ceasing to regard the Dissenters as dangerous, no longer asked for special legislation against them. The principle which now bound the Tories to the King and to one another was their abhorrence of the Whig connection. They constantly declaimed against the party system, generally holding it to be better that George III. should give office to such ministers as he held fit, than that ministers should be appointed at the dictation of the leaders of a parliamentary party.

5. **The King's Friends.**—The principle upheld by the Tories was so far legitimate that Parliamentary parties in those days were not, as is now the case, combinations of members of Parliament holding definite political opinions and constantly appealing for support to the large masses of their countrymen by whom those opinions are shared. The plain fact was that they were composed of wealthy and influential men who, by the possession of boroughs, gained seats in Parliament for men who would vote for them whether they thought them to be right or wrong, and who, if they could obtain office, gained more votes by the attraction of the patronage of which they had the disposal. George III., therefore, if he wished to gain his ends, had to follow their example. He consequently

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resolved to rely on members of Parliament known as the king's friends, who voted as he bade them, simply because they thought that he, and not the Whig Lords, would, in future, distribute honours and patronage. In this way George III. deserted the part of a constitutional king to reap the advantages of a party leader, being able, no doubt, to plead that the Whigs had ceased to be a constitutional party and had established themselves in power less by argument than by the possession of patronage. George's attempt to change the balance of politics could not, however, succeed at once. Bute's ministry did not last long. He was a Scotchman, and at that time Scotchmen were very unpopular in England, besides which there were scandals afloat, entirely untrue, about his relations with the king's mother, the Princess of Wales. Mobs insulted and frightened him. He had not sufficient abilities to fill the post of a Prime Minister, and being, unlike Newcastle, aware of his own defects, on April 8, 1763, he suddenly resigned.

6. **The Three Whig Parties. 1763.**—By this time the king had no longer a united Whig party to contend against. The bulk of the Whigs, indeed, held together, and having selected Lord Rockingham as their leader in the place of Newcastle, had in many ways gained by the change. It is true that Rockingham was not a man of much ability, and was so shy that he seldom ventured to speak in public; but he was incorruptible himself, and detested the work of corrupting others. Those who followed him renounced the evil ways dear to Newcastle. What these Whigs gained in character they lost in influence over a House of Commons in which many members wanted to be bribed, and did not want to be persuaded. A second party followed the Duke of Bedford. Bedford himself was an independent, though not a very wise politician, but his followers simply put themselves up to auction. The Bedfords, as they were called, understanding that they would command better terms if they hung together, intimated to those who wished for their votes that they would have to buy all, or none. A third party followed Pitt's brother-in-law, George Grenville. Grenville was a thorough man of business, and quite honest; but he had little knowledge of mankind. He had quarrelled with Pitt because, whilst Pitt thought of the glories of the war, he himself shrank from its enormous costliness, the national debt having nearly doubled during its progress, rising to more than 132,000,000*l.* He had, therefore, after Pitt's resignation and Newcastle's fall, supported Bute, and, now that the king was compelled to choose between Rockingham, Bedford and Grenville, he naturally selected

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Grenville as Prime Minister, as having seceded from the great Whig connection.

7. **Grenville and Wilkes. 1763—1764.**—At first the king got on well with Grenville, as they were both inclined to take high-handed proceedings with those who criticised the Government. John Wilkes, a member of the House of Commons, blamed the

Silver coffee-pot belonging to the Salters' Company, 1764.

king's speech in No. 45 of the *North Briton*. The king ordered the prosecution of all concerned in the article, and Lord Halifax, as Secretary of State, issued a warrant for the apprehension of its authors, printers, and publishers. Such a warrant was called a general warrant, because it did not specify the name of any particular person who was to be arrested. On this warrant Wilkes was arrested and sent to the Tower. On May 6, however, he was

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discharged by Pratt, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, on the ground that, by his privilege as a member of Parliament, he was protected from arrest, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace. Not long afterwards Pratt declared general warrants to be illegal, though there had been several examples of their use. In November, **1763**, the House of Commons, urged on by the king and Grenville, voted No. 45 of the *North Briton* to be a libel, whilst the House of Lords attacked Wilkes on the ground that in the notes of an indecent poem called *An Essay on Woman*, of which he was the author, he had assailed Bishop Warburton, a member of that House. Wilkes, indeed, had never published the poem, but its existence was betrayed by Lord Sandwich, one of the Bedford party, who had been a boon companion of Wilkes, and whose life was as profligate as Wilkes's own. On January 19, **1764**, the House of Commons expelled Wilkes on account of No. 45, and on February 21, in the Court of King's Bench, a verdict was recorded against him both as a libeller and as the author of an obscene poem. Attempts having been made to get rid of him by challenging him to fight duels, he escaped to France and was outlawed by the Court.

8. **George III. and Grenville. 1763—1764.**—Wilkes became suddenly popular because of his indomitable resistance to a king who was at that time unpopular. George III. had shown strength of will, but as yet he had been merely striving for mastery, without proposing any policy which could strike the imaginations of his subjects. All officials who voted against him were dismissed, even when their offices were not political. George III. was as self-willed and dictatorial as Grenville himself, and soon ceased to be on good terms with the Prime Minister. In September, **1763**, Grenville, to increase the number of his supporters in the House of Commons, admitted the Duke of Bedford and his followers to office, but Bedford soon made himself even more disagreeable to the King than Grenville. George III., weary of his ministers, made overtures to Pitt to come to his help, but for a long time they remained without effect, and much as he now disliked both Grenville and Bedford he was compelled to keep them in office.

9. **The Stamp Act. 1765.**—One measure indeed of Grenville's secured the warm support of the king. Since the late war, not only was England burdened with a greatly increased debt, but it had become desirable that a large military force should be kept up for the defence of her increased dominions. The army in America amounted to 10,000 men, and Grenville thought that the

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colonists ought to pay the expenses of a force of which they were to have the chief benefit—especially as the former war had been carried on in their behalf. If it had been possible, he would have preferred that the money needed should have been granted by the colonists themselves. It was, however, extremely improbable that this would be done. There was no general assembly of the American colonies with which the home Government could treat. Each colony had its own separate assembly, and experience had shown that each colony, even when it granted money at all, was always unwilling to make a grant for the common service of the colonies as a whole. Each, in fact, looked after its own interests; Virginia, for instance, not having any wish to provide against a danger threatening Massachusetts, nor Massachusetts any wish to provide against a danger threatening Virginia. Grenville accordingly thought that the only authority to which all the colonies would bow was that of the British Parliament, and, in **1765**, he obtained without difficulty the assent of Parliament to a Stamp Act, calculated to raise about 100,000*l.*, by a duty on stamps to be placed on legal documents in America.

10. **The Rockingham Ministry. 1765.**—Before news could arrive of the effect of the Stamp Act in America, the king had been so exasperated by the rudeness with which Grenville and Bedford treated him that, much as he disliked Rockingham and the old Whigs, he placed them in office until he could find an opportunity of getting rid of them as well. The new ministers were weak, not only because the king disliked them and intrigued against them, but because they refused to resort to bribery, and were therefore unpopular with the members who wanted to be bribed. Nor had they any one amongst them of commanding ability, whilst Pitt, whom Rockingham asked to join him, refused to have anything to do with the old Whigs, whom he detested as cordially as did the king.

11. **The Rockingham Ministry and the Repeal of the Stamp Act. 1766.**—Before Parliament met in December, news reached England that the Americans had refused to accept the stamped papers sent out to them, and had riotously attacked the officers whose duty it was to distribute them. The British Parliament, in fact, had put itself into the position occupied by Charles I. when he levied ship-money (see p. 523). It was as desirable in the eighteenth century that Americans should pay for the army necessary for their protection as it had been desirable in the seventeenth that Englishmen should pay for the fleet then needed to defend their coasts.

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Americans in the eighteenth century however, like Englishmen in the seventeenth, thought that the first point to be considered was the authority by which the tax was imposed. If Charles I. might levy ship-money without consent of Parliament, he might levy other taxes in the same way, and would thus become absolute master of England. If the British Parliament could levy a stamp duty in America, it could levy other duties, and the Americans

Edmund Burke: from a painting by Reynolds in the National Portrait Gallery.

would thus be entirely at its mercy. The Rockingham ministry drew back from the prospect of a struggle with the colonists, and, at its instance, the Stamp Act was repealed early in **1766**, though its repeal was accompanied by a Declaratory Act asserting the right of the British Parliament to tax the colonies as well as to legislate for them.

12. **Pitt and Burke. 1766.**—In taking this course the Rockingham ministry was supported by Edmund Burke, who now entered Parliament for the first time, and who was the greatest political

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thinker of the age. As Pitt, too, applauded the repeal of the Stamp Act, Rockingham made fresh but unsuccessful efforts to induce him to combine with the ministry. Yet, though Pitt and Burke agreed in disliking the Stamp Act, their reasons for so doing were not the same. Pitt held that the British Parliament had a right to impose duties on American trade, for the sake of regulating it—in other words, of securing a monopoly for British manufactures—but that it had no right to levy internal taxes in America. Burke, on the other hand, detested the very idea of claiming or disclaiming a right to tax, holding that in all political matters the only thing worth discussion was whether any particular action was expedient. America, according to him, was not to be taxed, simply because it was not worth while to irritate the Americans for the sake of any sum of money which could be obtained from them. This was not the only point on which Pitt and Burke differed. Burke wished to found government on a combination amongst men of property honestly and intelligently seeking their country's good, and using the influence which their wealth gave them to fill the benches of the House of Commons with men as right-minded as themselves. Pitt, on the other hand, distrusting all combinations between wealthy landowners, preferred appealing to popular support.

13. **The Chatham Ministry. 1766–1767.**—There was this much of agreement between George III. and Pitt, that they both disliked the Rockingham Whigs, and, in July, **1766**, the king dismissed Rockingham, created Pitt Earl of Chatham, and made him Prime Minister with the office of Lord Privy Seal. Chatham formed his ministry by selecting men of all kinds of opinion who were willing to serve under him. Before the end of the year his health broke down, and his mind was so completely deranged as to render him incapable of attending to business. In **1767** the Duke of Grafton, being First Lord of the Treasury, became nominally Prime Minister, but he was quite incapable of controlling his subordinates, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, a brilliant, unwise speaker, had everything his own way.

14. **American Import Duties. 1767.**—Although the Stamp Act had been repealed, the irritation caused by its imposition had not died away in America, and the authority of British Acts of Parliament was set at naught by the colonists. In **1767** Townshend obtained from Parliament an Act imposing on America import duties on glass, red and white lead, painters' colours, paper, and tea. The produce was estimated at 40,000*l.*, and was to be em-

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ployed, not in maintaining an army to defend the colonies, but in paying their judges and governors, with the object of making them dependent on the Crown, and independent of the public opinion of the colonists. From the point of view of the British Parliament, the colonists were like unruly children, who required to be kept in order. In America, on the other hand, the new duties were denounced as an attempt to govern America from England. Not only did people agree together to avoid the consumption of articles subject to the new duties, but attacks were made on the revenue officers who had to collect the money, and whatever violence was committed against them, juries refused to convict the offenders. On September 4, **1767**, before further steps could be taken in England, Townshend died. His successor as Chancellor of the Exchequer was Lord North, who was inclined to carry out Townshend's policy. In reality, however, the king was himself the head of the ministry.

15. **The Middlesex Election. 1768—1769.**—Though before the end of **1768** Chatham recovered his health, he felt himself helpless, and formally resigned office. In that year there was a general election, and Wilkes, reappearing from France, was elected in Middlesex. His election was a token of a wide-spread dissatisfaction, not so much with the taxation of America as with the corruption by which the king had won Parliament to his side. In February, **1769**, the House of Commons expelled Wilkes. He was then re-elected, and the House replied not only by expelling him again, but by incapacitating him from sitting in the House during the existing Parliament. When an election was again held, Wilkes was again at the head of the poll, but the House declared his opponent, Colonel Luttrell, to be duly elected, though the votes for him had been very few. A grave constitutional question was thus raised. George Grenville and the Rockingham Whigs agreed in asserting that nothing short of an Act of Parliament passed by both Houses could deprive the electors of their right of choosing whom they would as their representative, though they admitted that the House might expel a member so chosen as often as it pleased. To this doctrine Chatham, who had now recovered his health, gave his warm support. It seemed as if it would be impossible for the ministry to hold out against such a weight of authority and argument.

16. **"Wilkes and Liberty." 1769.**—The opponents of the court on the question of the Middlesex election had on their side two dangerous allies—a libeller and the mob. The libeller, who called

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himself 'Junius,' was probably Sir Philip Francis. He attacked with malignant bitterness the king and all his instruments. The mob, actuated by a sense of the unfairness with which Wilkes was treated,

George III. in 1767 : from a painting by Allan Ramsay in the National Portrait Gallery.

took his part warmly. "Wilkes and liberty" was their cry. At the time of the Middlesex election '45' was freely chalked up on the doors of the houses, in allusion to the condemned number of the

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North Briton. Noblemen most hostile to Wilkes were compelled to illuminate their houses in honour of his success at the poll, and the grave Austrian ambassador was pulled out of his carriage, and '45' chalked on the soles of his boots. In June, Wilkes, having surrendered to take his trial for the publication of No. 45 and the *Essay on Woman* (see pp. 769, 770), was committed to prison, whence, on May 10, an enormous crowd strove to rescue him, and was only driven off after the soldiers had fired and killed five or six persons. Wilkes was, in June, sentenced to fine and imprisonment as a libeller, but the citizens of London, as enthusiastic in his favour as the crowd, chose him as Alderman whilst he was still in prison. The badness of his character was forgotten, and his pertinacious stand against the Court was alone remembered.

17. **Lord North Prime Minister. 1770.**—When Parliament met, in January, 1770, Chatham, now again in full possession of his powers, took up the cause of Wilkes, maintaining that the House of Commons had no right to place Luttrell in his seat. The very sound of his voice dissolved the composite Ministry. Those who had entered it as his followers rallied to their leader. Pratt, who had become Lord Chancellor with the title of Lord Camden, was dismissed. The king, finding that no notable lawyer agreed with him as to the right of the House of Commons to disqualify Wilkes from being elected, persuaded Charles Yorke, an eminent lawyer and a hitherto devoted follower of Rockingham, to accept the Chancellorship, although in so doing he would have to argue against his own settled convictions. Yorke, tempted by the greatness of the prize, accepted the offer, but he was unable to bear the reproaches of his friends, and, for very shame, committed suicide. Grafton resigned office, and other ministers followed his example. The king then made Lord North First Lord of the Treasury, and gave him the position of a Prime Minister, though the title was still held to be invidious, and North himself objected to have it used in his own case. North was an able man, skilful in the management of public affairs, and honestly a supporter of strong measures against Wilkes and the Americans, and he fully adopted the principle that the king was to choose his ministers and to direct their policy. If North could maintain himself in Parliament, the new Toryism, of which the dependence of ministers on the Crown was the leading feature, would have won the day.

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CHAPTER XLIX

THE STRUGGLE FOR AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. 1770—1783

LEADING DATES

Reign of George III., 1760—1820

Lord North Prime Minister	1770
Cargoes of Tea thrown into Boston Harbour	1773
Beginning of the American War	1775
Declaration of Independence	1776
Capitulation of Saratoga	1777
War with France	1778
Burke's Bill for Economical Reform	1780
Capitulation of Yorktown	1781
Second Rockingham Ministry	1782
Shelburne Ministry	1782
Peace of Paris	1783

1. **North and the Opposition. 1770.**—The opposition, seemingly strong, was weakened by a conflict of opinion amongst its leaders. Chatham declared for Parliamentary reform, suggesting that a third member should be given to each county, as the freeholders, who at that time alone voted in county elections, were more independent than the borough electors. Burke and the Rockingham Whigs, on the other hand, objected to any constitutional change as likely in the end to throw power into the hands of the ignorant. The violence of mobs since Wilkes's election no doubt strengthened the conservative feeling of this section of the Whigs, and, at the same time, made strongly in favour of the Government, because in times of disorder quiet people are apt to support the Government whether they agree with it politically or not. North was well fitted to take advantage of this state of opinion. He was an easy-going man, who never lost his temper and never gave unnecessary offence. At the same time, he was an able party manager, and, though not a great statesman, was a sensible politician. With the king at his back, he had at his disposal all the engines of corruption by which votes were gained, and though members of Parliament had for some time ceased to sell their votes for ready money as they had done in the days of Walpole and Newcastle, they still continued to sell them for pensions,

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offices, and especially for sinecures. Moreover, North had the advantage of sharing in the king's strong feeling against the conduct of the Americans. Public opinion in England was turning more and more against the Americans, and, for the first time in his reign, George III. found support for his policy in public opinion.

2. **North and the Tea Duty. 1770.**—Only two courses were open to the British Government:—the one to treat the Americans

Lord North: from an engraving by Burke, taken from a painting by Dance.

as a virtually independent people, allowing them to tax themselves and to govern themselves as they pleased; the other to compel them to obedience by military force. It is hardly strange that Englishmen were not wise enough to accept the former alternative. They did not perceive that the colonists, in refusing the payment of taxes imposed by others than themselves, had a proper foundation for constitutional resistance, whilst they did perceive

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that the American resistance was not altogether carried on in a constitutional manner. In Massachusetts, especially, all who were concerned in the collection of the import duties were treated with contumely. Soldiers were insulted in the streets. An informer was tarred and feathered. Lord North was, indeed, sensible enough to perceive that Townshend's import duties roused unnecessary irritation, especially as the net income derived from them was less than 300*l.* He induced Parliament to repeal all the duties except that of 3*d.* a pound on tea; but he openly acknowledged that he kept on the tea-duty, not because anything was to be gained by it, but simply to assert the right of England to tax the colonies. In America a sullen resistance continued to be offered to this claim, becoming more and more defiant as time passed on.

3. **The Freedom of Reporting. 1771.**—In Parliament Lord North gathered strength. George Grenville having died in **1770** and Bedford early in **1771**, the followers of these two leaders resolved to support the Ministry. So, too, did Grafton, who had lately resigned office rather than oppose Chatham, and Wedderburn, an unscrupulous lawyer who had professed the strongest opposition principles, but who now sold himself for the office of Solicitor-General. The combined Opposition was reduced to a hopeless minority. Yet, even thus, though unable to influence the American policy of the Ministry, it was, on one occasion, able to bring about a valuable reform at home. The House of Commons had long been jealous of the reporting of its debates and of the comments of newspapers on its members. In February, **1771**, Colonel Onslow, a member of the House, complained that a newspaper had called him 'little cocking George,' and a 'paltry, insignificant insect.' The proposal to summon the printers to the bar was resisted by obstructive motions from both the followers of Rockingham and the followers of Chatham, and when it was at last carried time had slipped by, and it was found difficult to catch all the printers. One of them, named Miller, was arrested in the city by a messenger of the House, but the messenger, in turn, was arrested and brought before the Lord Mayor and two aldermen—one of whom was Wilkes—who put the messenger in prison for infringing the city charter by making an arrest in the city without the authority of its magistrates. The House of Commons, prudently leaving Wilkes alone, sent the Lord Mayor and the other alderman to the Tower, where they were royally feasted by the city till the end of the session, after which time no imprisonment, by order of either House, can be enforced. The Opposition had gained its point, as since that time no attempt

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has been made to stop the reporting of debates. It was the freedom of reporting which ultimately enabled Parliamentary reform to be effected without danger. Only a people which is allowed to have knowledge of the actions and words of its representatives can be trusted to control them.

4. **Continued Resistance in America. 1770—1772.**—In America resistance to the British Government rose and fell from year to year. In 1770 some soldiers at Boston fired, with deadly effect, on a crowd which threatened them, and this 'Boston massacre,' as it was called, so exasperated the townsmen that the governor had to withdraw the troops. Lawlessness spread, as is usually the case when a government has lost the support of public opinion. The revenue officers were subjected to outrage, and, in 1772, a small vessel of war, the 'Gaspee,' was captured and burnt.

5. **The Boston Tea Ships. 1773.**—The people of New England, though they had agreed to avoid the use of tea, found it difficult to abstain from so pleasant a beverage, and in 1773 Lord North struck a bargain with the East India Company to carry a large quantity to Boston. When the tea ships arrived, a meeting of the townsmen was held, and, after a vain attempt to persuade the governor to send them away, a number of young men, disguised as Red Indians, rushed on board in the dark, broke open the chests with tomahawks, and flung the whole of the tea into the harbour.

6. **Repressive Measures. 1774.**—When the news of this violence reached England, it was evident to all that either the British Parliament must abandon its claim to enforce the payment of the tea duty or it would have to maintain its authority by force. Burke pleaded for a return to the older system under which Great Britain had been respected for so many years. "Revert," he said, "to your old principles . . . leave America, if she have taxable matter in her, to tax herself. I am not here going into a distinction of rights, nor attempting to mark their boundaries. I do not enter into these metaphysical distinctions. I hate the very sound of them. Leave the Americans as they anciently stood. Be content to bind America by laws of trade; you have always done it. Let this be your reason for binding her trade. Do not burden them with taxes; you were not used to do so from the beginning. Let his be your reason for not taxing. These are the arguments of states and kingdoms. Leave the rest to the schools, for there only they may be discussed with safety." The king, Lord North, and Parliament, thought otherwise. They saw that there was anarchy in America, as far as English law was concerned, and they con-

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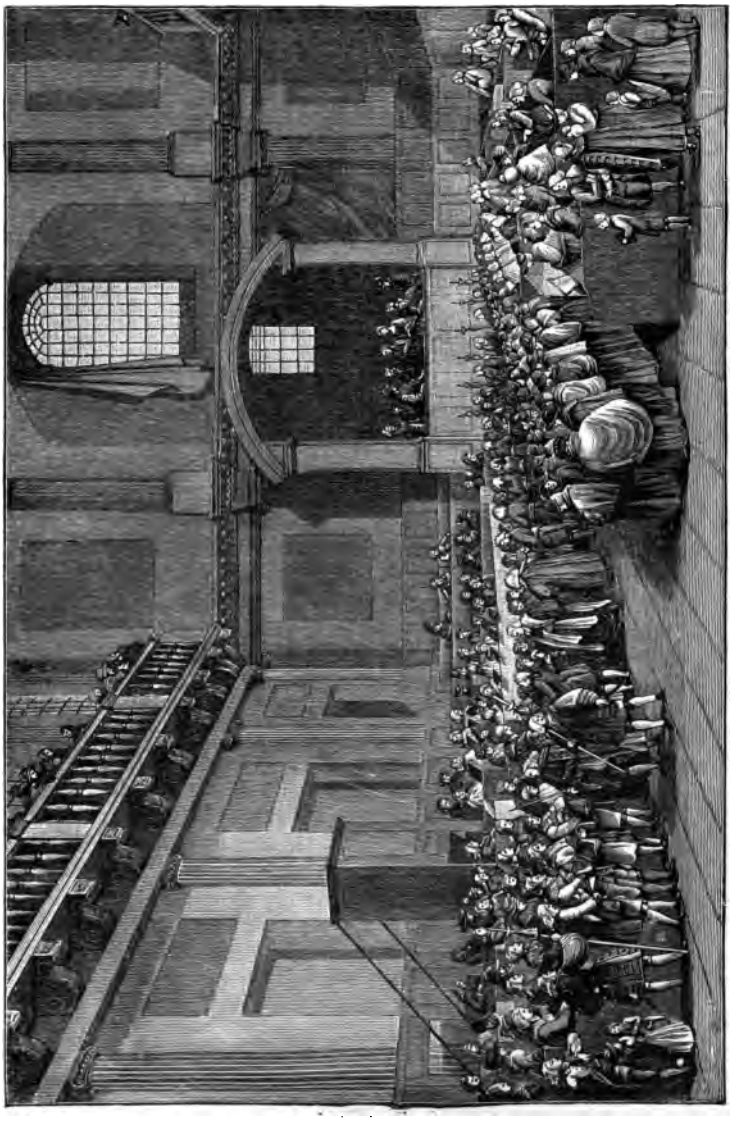

Distribution of His Majesty's Maundy by the Sub-almoner to His Majesty in the Chapel Royal of Whitehall: from an engraving by Basire after a drawing by Grimm, 1773.

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ceived it to be their duty and their right to bring it to an end. In 1774 was passed the Boston Port Act, prohibiting the landing or shipping of goods at Boston; the Massachusetts Government Act, transferring the appointment of the Council, or Upper House, together with that of all judges and administrative officers, from a popular electorate to the Crown; and another Act forbidding public meetings without the leave of the governor. In order to keep down resistance, a soldier, General Gage, was sent to be governor of Massachusetts.

7. **The Congress of Philadelphia and the British Parliament. 1774.**—The American colonies had always been divided amongst themselves. The four which made up what was popularly called New England—Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island—had been founded by the Puritans in the seventeenth century, and still retained the democratic character then impressed upon them. It was expected in England that the other nine colonies, where different habits prevailed—New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia—would take no part in the struggle, if one there was to be. These colonies, however, were frightened lest the British Parliament should alter their constitutions as it had just altered that of Massachusetts, and, in September, 1774, a congress, attended by deputies of all the colonies except Georgia, met at Philadelphia under the name of the Continental Congress. Though this Assembly had no legal powers, it had popular support, and it directed the stoppage of all importation from and exportation to Great Britain till the grievances of the colonies had been redressed. There was no sign of any wish for separation, and there is reason to believe that those amongst the colonists who called themselves Loyalists, and would have clung to the connection with Great Britain in spite of all that was happening, formed at least a third of the population. The majority, however, including all the most active spirits, was determined to resist unless concessions were granted. In the meanwhile, preparations for resistance were made, especially in New England; officers were selected, and 'minute men'—so called because they offered to fly to arms at a minute's notice—were enrolled in great numbers.

8. **Lexington and Bunker's Hill. 1775.**—Both in America and in England illusions prevailed. The Americans thought that the British Parliament would repeal its obnoxious measures, if only the American case were fairly represented to it, whilst the British

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Parliament continued to regard the power of resistance in America as altogether contemptible. Hostilities began without any deliberate purpose on either side. On April 18, **1775**, a small British force, sent from Boston to seize some arms at Concord, drove off on its way a small party of American volunteers at Lexington. On its return, on the 19th, it found the hedges and walls by the roadside lined with a superior number of volunteers, and only effected its retreat with heavy loss. After this all New England sprang to arms. On May 10 Ticonderoga was seized, and the command of Lake Champlain gained, whilst on June 16 about 1,500 insurgents entrenched themselves at the top of Breed's Hill, a height divided from Boston by the Charles river. On June 17, an English force was twice repulsed in an attempt to gain the position, and only succeeded on the third attempt after the ammunition of the Americans had been exhausted. The fight is usually known as the Battle of Bunker's Hill, a neighbouring height on which no fighting actually took place. The affair, taken by itself, was not of great importance, but it showed how well Americans could fight behind entrenchments, and how capable they were of developing military qualities unsuspected by the British generals.

9. **Conciliatory Efforts. 1775.**—After blood had been shed conciliatory efforts were less likely to be successful. An offer to abandon the British claim to tax any American colony which would provide for its own defence and its civil government had been made in March by Lord North, but it was not known in America till after the conflict at Lexington, and was then summarily rejected. On May 10 a second congress was held, at Philadelphia, and as it was attended by delegates from all the thirteen colonies, it assumed the style of 'The Congress of the United Colonies.' On July 8, the Congress set forth terms of reconciliation in a petition known as 'The Olive Branch Petition,' but its offers proved as unacceptable in England as Lord North's had been in America.

10. **George Washington in Command. 1775.** — Congress, whilst offering peace, prepared for war, and commenced raising an army in its own service, to replace the troops which had hitherto been raised by the separate colonies, and, on June 15, two days before the capture of Breed's Hill, appointed George Washington commander of this so-called Continental army. Washington was a good soldier, who had fought with distinction in the Seven Years' War, and was especially skilled in military organisation. His

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moral qualifications were even higher than his intellectual. He was absolutely unselfish, and possessed of infinite patience. Never were such qualities more needed. The adverse criticisms of English soldiers were, to a great extent, justified by the American volunteers. They were brave enough, but they were unwilling to submit to the discipline without which an army cannot long exist; and it sometimes happened that whole regiments, having enlisted for a certain time, would insist on going home when that time expired, even from the presence of the enemy. Washington's subordinate officers, too, constantly quarrelled with one another, whilst each one considered himself a far better soldier than the commander-in-chief.

11. **Progress of the War. 1775—1776.**—In the autumn of 1775 the war languished. An American army attempted to overrun Canada, but the Canadians, being Catholics of French descent, had no love for the New England Puritans, and the enterprise failed disastrously. Gage, who commanded the British army in America, was not a vigorous soldier. His successor, Sir William Howe, was equally remiss, and, on March 16, 1776, evacuated Boston. Yet it was not altogether the fault of these two commanders that they did nothing. So little had the British Parliament expected resistance that it had allowed the numbers of the army to sink to a low ebb. In 1774 the whole of the king's forces did not exceed 17,547 men, and when, in 1775, an attempt was made to raise them to 55,000, it was found impossible to obtain the required number of men in Great Britain. In despair the Government had recourse to a bargain with some German princes for the sale of their subjects. In this way 17,742 unhappy Germans were sent off, like so many slaves, to serve George III. in re-conquering America.

12. **The Declaration of Independence and the Struggle in New Jersey. 1776--1777.**—Nothing did more to alienate the Americans than this attempt to put them down by foreign troops. The result was the Declaration of Independence voted by Congress on July 4, 1776. The United States, as they were now to be called, disclaimed all obedience to the British Crown. They had still, however, to make good their words by action, and during the remainder of the year they were distinctly inferior in the field to their adversaries. On September 15 Howe occupied New York, Washington having been compelled to draw off his insubordinate soldiery. The plundering and violence of the American troops alienated a great part of the population, and in December Washington was driven out of New Jersey by Lord Cornwallis. The

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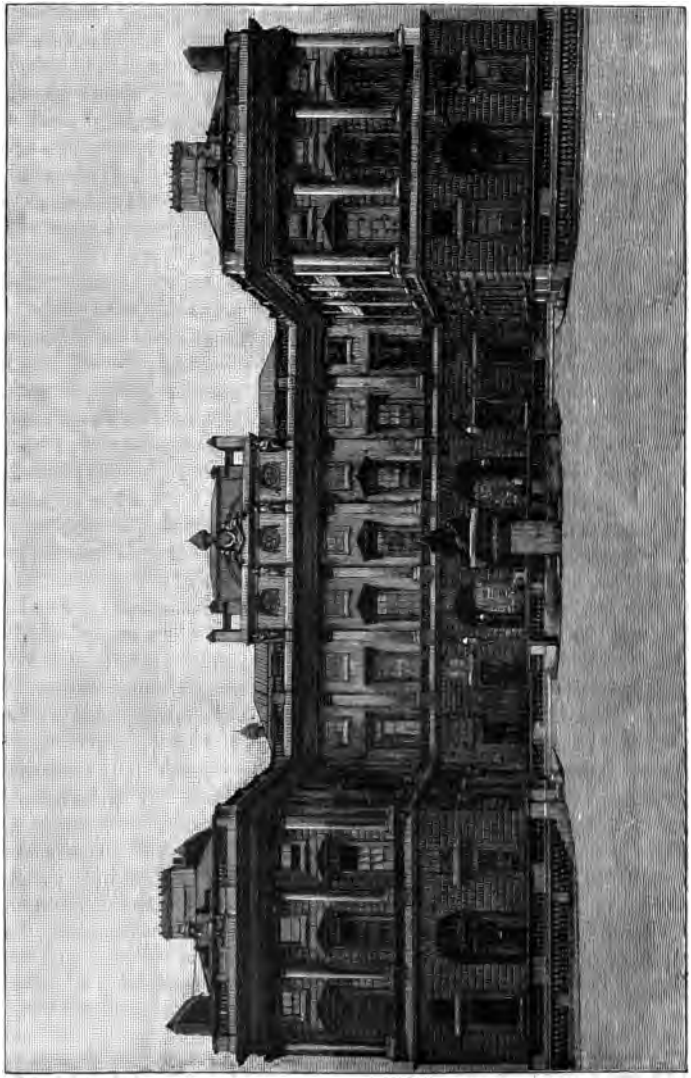

Somerset House—South face of Central Block; built by Sir William Chambers, 1776–1780.

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men deserted in shoals, and the inhabitants of the country through which they passed showed no inclination to assist them. Congress fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore. Washington saw that, unless he could inspire his troops with the ardour of success, his case was hopeless, and on Christmas night he dashed at Trenton, where he surprised the Germans in the midst of their revelry, and carried off 1,000 prisoners. On January 2, 1777, he defeated three British regiments at Princeton. The men of New Jersey rallied round Washington, and New Jersey itself was recovered. The constancy and generalship of Washington had stemmed the tide.

13. **French Assistance to America. 1776—1777.**—If Great Britain had had to deal only with the Americans, it could hardly have failed to wear out their resistance, considering how large a part of the population longed for peace rather than for independence. Its own population was 8,000,000, whilst that of the United States was less than 2,000,000. A nation, however, which attacks a people inferior to itself in strength must always take into account the probability that other states, which for any reason bear a grudge against her, will take the part of her weaker enemy. In 1776 France, burning, in the first place, to revenge her defeat in the Seven Years' War, and, in the second place, to break down the British monopoly of American commerce, lent, underhand, large sums of money to America, and gave other assistance in an equally secret way. "All Europe is for us," wrote the American diplomatists who negotiated with France. "Every nation in Europe wishes to see Britain humbled, having all in their turn been offended by her insolence." French volunteers of good birth, of whom the most noted was Lafayette, crossed the Atlantic to take service under Washington.

14. **Brandywine and Saratoga. 1777.**—Such help was insufficient. On September 11, 1777, Howe defeated Washington on the Brandywine, and, pushing onwards, occupied Philadelphia. The vastness of the country, however, fought for the Americans better than their own armies. Whilst Washington was vainly attempting to defend Pennsylvania, Burgoyne, an English officer of repute, was coming down the valley of the Hudson from Canada, hoping to join Clinton, who was to come up the valley from New York. He never reached Clinton. Though he pushed on far, his troops dwindled away and his provisions fell short. The Americans occupied every post around his diminished army, and on October 16 he was forced to capitulate at Saratoga.

15. **The French Alliance with America, and the Death of**

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Chatham. **1778.**—The British disaster at Saratoga encouraged the French Government, and, on February 6, **1778**, France openly allied herself with America. Lord North offered to yield anything short of independence, and begged the king to relieve him of office and to appoint Chatham. George III. refused to admit Chatham except as North's subordinate. Chatham, though he declined this insulting offer, opposed, on April 7, a motion by one of the Rockingham Whigs for acknowledging the independence of America, and thus practically gave his support to North. He was ready to give way on all the points originally in dispute, but he could not reconcile himself to the abandonment of the colonies, and he firmly protested against 'the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy.' As he spoke his voice failed him, and, on rising to make a second speech, he fell back in a fit of apoplexy. On May 11 he died. With many faults, he stands forth amongst the greatest figures in English history. He had not merely done great things—he had inspired England with confidence in herself.

16. **Valley Forge.** **1777—1778.**—French help was offered to America none too soon. In the winter of **1777—78** Washington's army at Valley Forge was almost destitute. Pennsylvania had little sympathy with him in the struggle, and Washington himself spoke of it as an 'enemy's country.' For three days his soldiers had no bread, and nearly 3,000 men were unfit for duty because they were 'bare-footed and otherwise naked.' Numbers deserted, and the distress increased as winter wore on. When spring arrived the result of the French alliance was clearly seen. In June the British evacuated Philadelphia, and in July a French fleet appeared off the American coast. Yet the operations of **1778** were desultory. The unwillingness of the Americans to support their army was so great that, at the end of **1778**, Washington was almost as despondent as he had been at the beginning of the year.

17. **George III. and Lord North.** **1779.**—Each side saw its own difficulties, and, in **1779**, every statesman in England was to the full as despondent as Washington. Lord North himself thought it impossible to re-conquer America now that France was her ally. George III., with a determination which, when it succeeds, is called firmness, and, when it fails, is called obstinacy, declared that he would never yield or give office to any man who would not first sign a declaration that he was 'resolved to keep the empire entire, and that no troops shall consequently be withdrawn from America nor independence ever allowed.' To the king's resolute will North reluctantly submitted, though in June **1779** Spain allied

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herself with France and America against Great Britain. North again and again offered his resignation, but the king forced him to retain office.

18. **The French in the Channel. 1779.**—The hour of French vengeance had come. Early in **1779** a French naval squadron seized the British possessions in Senegal and on the Gambia, and in the summer of the same year a combined French and Spanish fleet sailed up the Channel, which the British fleet did not even venture to meet. For the first time since the battle of La Hogue the French navy was master of the sea. The fact was that the circumstances under which the French navy now appeared at sea were different from those under which it had suffered defeat in the Seven Years' War. In the first place, Louis XVI., who had been king of France since **1774**, had paid special attention to the navy, and had both increased the number of his war-ships and had done his utmost to render their crews efficient. In the second place, he abandoned the policy which had been pursued by every ruler of France since the days of Richelieu, and which consisted in throwing the whole strength of the country into territorial aggression on its land frontier, thus weakening its ability to engage successfully in naval warfare. The new king, by keeping at peace with his neighbours on the Continent, was thus enabled to struggle with better chance of success against England, the old maritime rival of France.

19. **English Successes in America. 1779–1780.**—In America the British had still the upper hand, as far as fighting was concerned. In Georgia, the English beat off an attack by the Americans at Savannah, though the latter were supported by a French fleet under D'Estaing, who had previously reduced some of the West India Islands. On May 12, **1780**, Sir Henry Clinton took Charleston, and after his return to New York, Lord Cornwallis, whom he left behind in command, defeated the American general, Gates, at Camden in South Carolina. It seemed as if the whole of the southern states, where the opposition to Great Britain was not nearly so strong as in the north, would be brought into subjection. The enormous distances which the British had to traverse again told against them. Cornwallis had not men enough to hold the country which he had subdued and to gain new ground as well, and he was driven back as soon as he advanced into North Carolina. Yet, in spite of this failure, the gains of the British were so considerable as to increase the alarm of those Americans who had hoped for a decisive result from their combination with France and Spain. In September

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1780, Benedict Arnold, a general in whom Washington placed complete confidence, plotted to betray to the British commander at New York the forts on the hills round the Hudson. If the plot had succeeded, the struggle for American independence would have been at an end. It was, however, detected, and, though Arnold himself escaped, Major André, the British officer who negotiated with him, was caught within the American lines and hanged as a spy.

19. **Economical Reform. 1779—1780.**—In England there was, as yet, no active opposition to the continuance of the war, but there was a growing dissatisfaction with its apparently endless expense. Towards the close of **1779** the opposition turned this current of feeling against the employment of the patronage of the Crown, by which George III. secured votes in Parliament. They raised a cry, which was fully justified, in favour of Economical Reform, and they gathered large public meetings in their support. The practice of bringing the opinion of public meetings to bear upon Parliament was of recent origin, having sprung into existence in **1769**, during the agitation consequent on Wilkes's election. In **1779** it spread over the country. The signal was given by a meeting at York, presided over by Sir George Savile, a highly-respected member of the Rockingham party. These meetings were everywhere attended by the orderly classes, and were an indication of the dissatisfaction widely felt with a system through which the House of Commons had become a mere instrument in the king's hands. In February, **1780**, Burke brought in a Bill for the abolition of sinecures, the only use of which was the purchase of votes; and, in a magnificent speech, pleaded the cause of Economical Reform. He put the case in a nutshell when he announced that 'the king's turnspit was a peer of Parliament.' The House was too alarmed at the outburst of popular feeling to refuse to the Bill a second reading, but it rejected its leading clauses in Committee, and the Bill was consequently dropped. In April, however, Dunning, a Whig lawyer, carried a resolution that 'the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.'

20. **Parliamentary Reform and the Gordon Riots.**—Though the opposition was united in favour of Economical Reform, which would render the House of Commons less dependent on the King, it was divided on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, which would have made it more dependent on the nation. Burke, with the greater number of the Rockingham party, opposed the latter, but it was supported by Charles James Fox, the son of the Henry Fox

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who had been noted as the most corrupt minister of a corrupt time (see pp. 747, 751). The younger Fox was, in private life, a lover of pleasure, especially at the gaming-table, thereby alienating from him the more decorous portion of mankind. Yet, in spite of this, the charm of his kindly nature gained him warm personal friendships, and often disarmed the hostility of opponents. In public life he showed himself early as a ready and fluent speaker,

Charles James Fox as a young man : from an engraving by Watson from a painting by Reynolds.

always prepared with an answer on the spur of the moment. He was ever ready to throw himself enthusiastically into all generous and noble causes, praising beyond measure and abusing beyond measure, and too deficient in tact and self-restraint to secure power on the rare occasions when he attained it.

21. **The Gordon Riots. 1780.**—On June 2, 1780, the Duke of Richmond called, in the House of Lords, for manhood suffrage and

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The Riot in Broad Street [in the city of London] on the seventh of June, 1780: from a print engraved by James Heath after a picture by Francis Wheatley.

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annual Parliaments. That very day the unfitness of the multitude of those times for political power received a strong illustration. In 1778 Sir George Savile had carried a Bill relieving Roman Catholics of some of the hardships inflicted on them by the law. The cry of 'No Popery' was at once raised, and, whilst the Duke of Richmond was speaking to the peers, a mob, led by Lord George Gordon, a half-crazy fanatic, poured down to Westminster with a petition for the repeal of Savile's Act. Members of both Houses were hustled and ill-used, and for some time the mob endeavoured to burst into the House of Commons. Failing in this, they streamed off, and sacked and burnt the chapels of Roman Catholic ambassadors. The mob, however, loved riot more than they hated Popery. They burnt Newgate and liberated the prisoners. They fell, with special eagerness, upon the houses of magistrates. For six days they were in complete possession of a considerable part of London, plundering and setting fire to houses at their pleasure. Soldiers alone could arrest such a flood of mischief; and when, at last, soldiers were ordered to attack the mob, the riot was suppressed.

22. **The Armed Neutrality. 1780.** — The suppression of the riots in London brought back some support to the king, but the enemies of England abroad were growing stronger. English ships claimed the right of search in neutral vessels on the high seas, and they proceeded to confiscate enemies' goods found in them. They also seized neutral vessels trading with ports of their enemies, which they declared to be blockaded, even when they were not in sufficient force to exercise an effective blockade. A league sprung up amongst the northern states, headed by Russia, to establish an 'Armed Neutrality' for protection against such attacks. This league, supported by France, advanced what was then the new doctrine, that 'Free ships make free goods,' and proclaimed that 'paper blockades'—that is to say, blockades not enforced by a sufficient naval squadron—were inadmissible. The Dutch Republic moreover adopted this view and resisted the right of search when used by the English, just as the English, in Walpole's time, had resisted it when exercised by the Spaniards (see p. 728), and in December, 1780, England declared war on the Republic.

23. **The Capitulation of Yorktown. 1781.**—The campaign of 1781 was looked forward to as likely to be decisive. Cornwallis pushed on to the conquest of North Carolina, and, though his advanced guard was defeated at Cowpens in January, in March he routed an American army under Greene at Guilford. Once more the enormous size of the country frustrated the plans of the English

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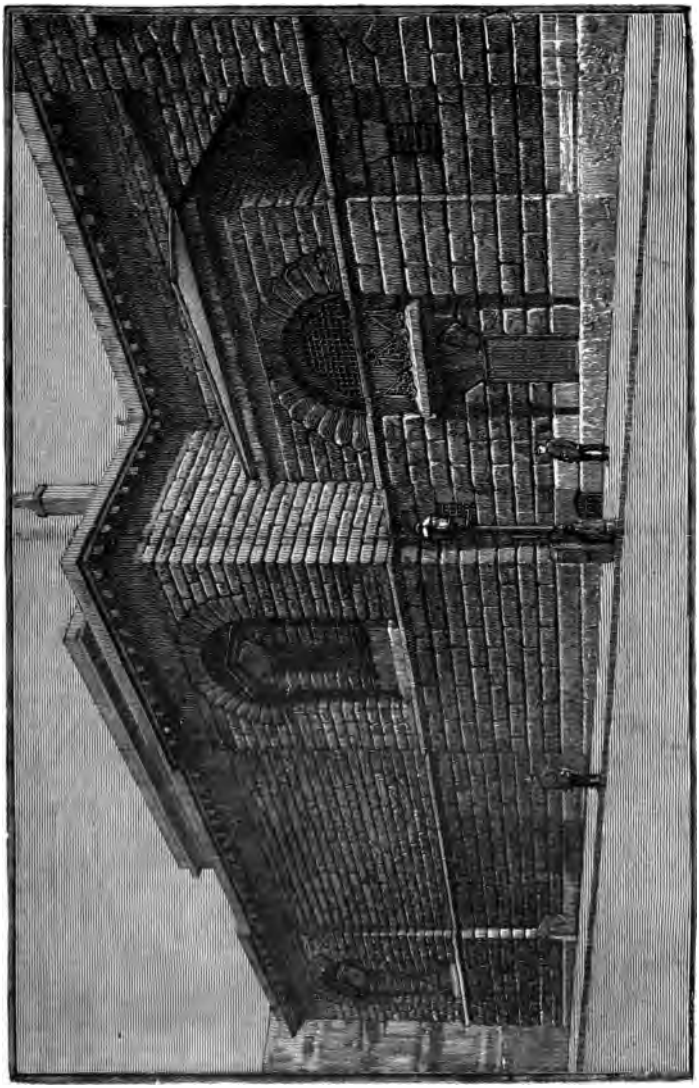

Newgate Prison; rebuilt in 1782, after the Gordon Riots.

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commander, who, after a few weeks, being unable to hold any part of the Carolinas except Charleston, went off to Virginia. The American army was quite unable to inflict a serious defeat on the British in the field. The states themselves left it unpaid and afforded it but scanty means of support. The men deserted in shoals, and those who remained were obliged to obtain food by oppression. "Scarce any state," wrote an American general, "has at this hour an eighth part of its quota in the field. . . . Instead of having the prospect of a glorious offensive campaign before us, we have a bewildered and gloomy one, unless we should receive a powerful aid of ships, land troops, and money, from our generous allies." In expectation of this help the American forces again grew in numbers, so that Cornwallis, though unconquered, was compelled to fortify a post at Yorktown on the shore of the Chesapeake, where, as long as he was master of the sea, he could defy his enemies. The French fleet under De Grasse, however, soon gained the mastery, and blockaded Yorktown on the side of the water, while the Americans blockaded it on the side of the land. On October 19 Cornwallis surrendered, and the American War was virtually at an end.

24. **American success. 1781.**—American Independence had been the work of an active minority, especially vigorous in New England, and in some other parts further south. This minority was always ready to take advantage of every circumstance arising in their favour, and availing themselves of the assistance of the foreign enemies of England. The cause of America was, to some extent, the cause of England herself. The same reasons which made Parliament ready to set aside by an act of power the resistance of the Americans to the payment of a tax to which their representatives had not consented had weighed with the House of Commons when they set aside the repeatedly declared choice of the Middlesex electors. In the one case the British Parliament, in the other case the British House of Commons, insisted on having its way, because it believed itself in the right. The principle of self-government—of the system which acknowledges that it is better to allow a people to blunder in order that they may learn by experience, than to coerce them for their own good—was at stake in both. It seemed as easy to suppress America as it was to suppress the Middlesex electors; and when England discovered that this was not the case, she learnt a lesson which would teach her in the future how much consideration was due to those dependencies which were still left.

25. **The Last Days of North's Ministry. 1781—1782.—The**

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news of the surrender at Yorktown reached England on November 25. "O God!" cried North when he heard it, "it is all over." The king insisted on North's retaining office and prolonging the struggle. During the next few months Minorca surrendered to the Spaniards, and De Grasse's fleet captured one West India island after another. The supporters of the ministry in Parliament deserted it, and on March 20, **1782**, North resigned.

26. **The Rockingham Ministry. 1782.**—Much to his annoyance, George III. had to place the opposition in office, with Rockingham as Prime Minister, and to allow the new ministers to open negotiations on the basis of the acknowledgment of American independence. The two most important members of Rockingham's second administration were Fox and Lord Shelburne, the latter being the leader of that section of the Whigs which had followed Chatham. The king, who hated the Rockingham section as an aristocratic faction, intrigued with Shelburne against the other members of the ministry. As Shelburne disliked Fox personally, the prospect of a united ministry was not encouraging. For the moment, however, the new ministers did plenty of good work. They opened negotiations for peace, and were likely to obtain the better terms, as on April 12 Admiral Rodney gained a decisive victory in the West Indies over De Grasse's fleet. At home, the ministers set themselves to purify Parliament. They carried measures, in the first place, disqualifying revenue officers, who were liable to dismissal by the Government, from voting at elections, and, in the second place, disqualifying contractors from sitting in the House of Commons on the ground that it was their interest not to offend the ministers. Burke's Economical Reform Bill, which had been thrown out in **1781**, was also passed, in a modified form, in **1782**. Though the king still retained sufficient patronage to make him formidable, he would now have less corrupting influence than before.

27. **Irish Religion and Commerce. 1778.**—The Irish Parliament had, for some time, been growing discontented with its subordinate position. It is true that it represented the Protestants only, but its desire to make itself independent had the result of rendering it unusually inclined to conciliate the Catholics. In **1778** it passed a Relief Bill, repealing the worst of the persecuting acts (see p. 686). The leader in this movement was Grattan, who pronounced that 'the Irish Protestant could never be free till the Irish Catholic had ceased to be a slave.' In the same year some slight diminution was effected in the restrictions which had been

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imposed on Irish commerce, but the outcry raised by English manufacturers was too loud to allow North to concede to Ireland as much as he would willingly have done.

28. **The Irish Volunteers. 1778—1781.**—Irish Protestants were, for every reason, warm supporters of the connection with England, but they were hostile to the existing system, because it impoverished them by stopping their trade. They asked for liberty to export what they pleased and to import what they pleased. To gain this they needed legislative independence, their own Parliament being not only prohibited, by Poynings' law (see p. 350), from passing any act which had not been first approved by the English Privy Council, but being bound by a further act of George I. which declared Ireland to be subject to laws made in the British Parliament. The war with France gave to the Irish Protestants the opportunity which they sought. England, bent upon the reconquest of America, had no troops to spare for the defence of Ireland, and the Irish Protestants came forward as volunteers in defence of their own country. At the end of 1781 they had 80,000 men in arms, and with this force behind their backs they now asked for legislative independence.

29. **Irish Legislative Independence. 1782.**—In 1782, with recent experience gained in America, Rockingham's Government shrank from opposing a movement so formidably supported. At Fox's motion the British Parliament passed an act, by which the act of George I. binding Ireland to obey laws made in Great Britain was repealed, and Poynings' law was so modified as to put an end to the control of the British Privy Council over the making of laws in Ireland. However, the independent Parliament at Dublin—Grattan's Parliament, as it is sometimes called—had two sources of weakness. In the first place the House of Commons was chosen by Protestants alone; in the second place it had no control over the executive government, which was exercised not, as in England, by ministers responsible to Parliament, but by the Lord Lieutenant, who was appointed by, and was responsible to, the Government in England. Nor were there any constitutional means by which either the two Parliaments in conjunction, or any third body with powers either derived from them or superior to them, could decide upon questions in which both peoples were interested.

30. **The Shelburne Ministry and the Peace of Paris. 1782—1783.**—On July 1, 1782, Rockingham died, and the king at once appointed Shelburne Prime Minister, who, as he thought, would

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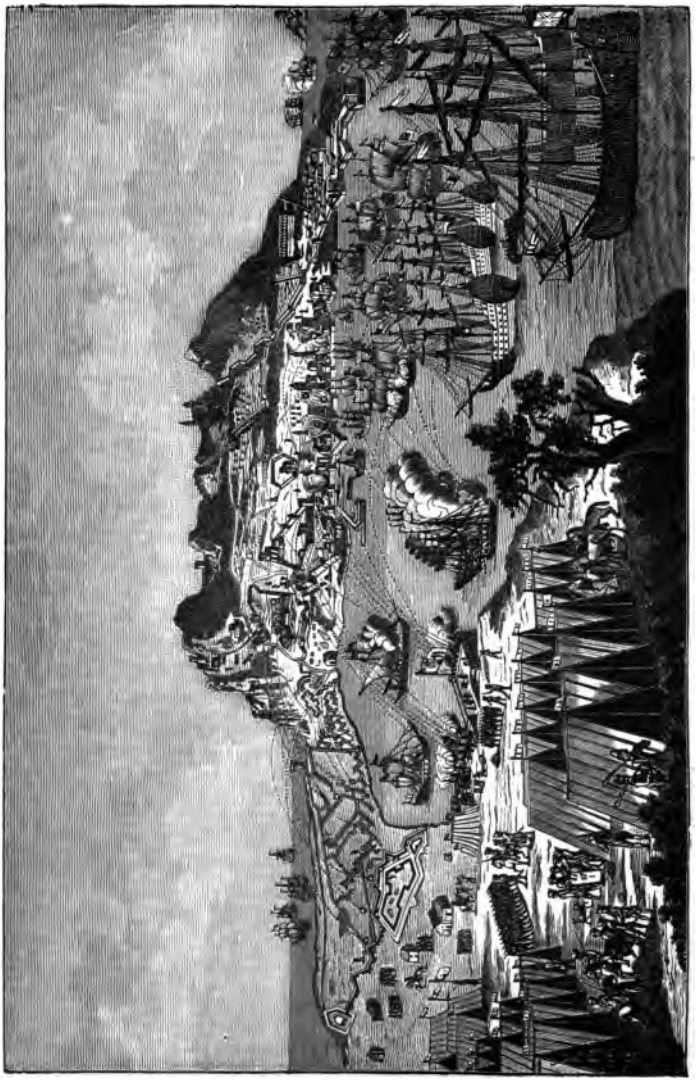

The Siege of Gibraltar, 1781: from a contemporary print.

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be more likely than any of the other ministers to help him to keep down the Whig aristocracy. Fox, who detested Shelburne, and had for some time been engaged in a bitter dispute with him on the subject of the negotiations for peace, resigned together with others of Rockingham's followers. When Shelburne became Prime Minister the negotiations were far advanced. France and Spain were, however, anxious, before they signed a peace, to regain Gibraltar, which their fleets and armies had been besieging for more than three years. On September 13 a tremendous attack was made on the fortress with floating batteries which were thought to be indestructible. The British, on the other side, fired red-hot shot at the batteries till they were all burnt. After this failure, France and Spain were ready to come to terms with Great Britain. The preliminaries of peace with the United States of America were signed at Paris, on November 30, **1782**, and with France and Spain on January 20, **1783**. The preliminaries were converted into definitive treaties on September 3, **1783**. The Dutch held out longer, but were obliged to yield to a peace a few months later.

31. **Terms of the Treaty of Paris. 1783.**—The treaties with France and Spain restored to France the right of fortifying Dunkirk, which had been taken from her by the Treaty of Utrecht (see p. 699), and to Spain the possession of Minorca, whilst certain exchanges were effected in the West Indies, Africa, and India. In America, Florida went back to Spain. By the treaty with the United States their independence was acknowledged, and their western border was fixed on the Mississippi, beyond which was Louisiana, ceded by France to Spain at the end of the Seven Years' War. (See p. 766.)

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CHAPTER L

PITT AND FOX. 1782–1789

LEADING DATES

Reign of George III., 1760 - 1820

Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer	1782
The Coalition Ministry	April 2, 1783
Pitt Prime Minister	Dec. 23, 1783
Pitt's India Bill	1784
Bills for Parliamentary Reform and for a Commercial Union with Ireland	1785
Commercial Treaty with France	1786
Insanity of the King	1788
The Regency Bill	1789

1. **The Younger Pitt. 1782—1783.**—Chatham's second son, William Pitt, had entered Parliament in 1780, at the age of twenty-one. He had supported Burke's Economical Reform and denounced the American War. "Pitt," said some one to Fox, "will be one of the first men in the House of Commons." "He is so already," replied Fox. "He is not a chip of the old block," said Burke, "he is the old block itself." Burke's saying was not strictly accurate. The qualities of the younger Pitt were different from those of his father. He had none of the fire of the impetuous Chatham, but he had what Chatham did not possess, unerring tact in the management of men and high sagacity in discriminating between things possible to be done and things which were not possible. When the second Rockingham Ministry was formed, he was offered a post which did not carry with it a seat in the Cabinet, but which brought a salary of 5,000*l.* a year. Pitt, who was a young barrister making a bare 300*l.* a year, refused the offer, and astonished the House by asserting that he 'never would accept a subordinate situation.' He soon asked for a committee to inquire into the need for Parliamentary reform, adopting the views of his father on this subject, in opposition to those of the Rockingham Whigs. When Shelburne became Prime Minister, he made Pitt Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the leadership of the House of Commons.

2. **Resignation of Shelburne. 1783.**—Shelburne's Ministry did not last long. Shelburne never continued for any length of time

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on good terms with other men. He was unreasonably suspicious, and his profuse employment of complimentary expressions gave rise to doubts of his sincerity. In the beginning of **1783** most of his colleagues had ceased to attend his Cabinet meetings. It was obvious that Shelburne, with all his ability, was not a ruler of men, and it is almost certain that if Fox had had a little patience, Shelburne must have resigned, and the way have been opened for a strong and reforming Ministry, in which Fox and Pitt would have played the leading part. Unfortunately, Fox had neither patience nor tact. He formed a coalition with North, and as the two together had a large majority in the House of Commons at their disposal, Shelburne resigned on February 24.

Costumes of persons of quality, about 1783.

3. **The Coalition Ministry. 1783.**—The king was furious, but for the time, helpless. He regarded North as an ungrateful deserter, and he had more than one reason for disliking Fox. Not only was Fox the most brilliant supporter of the system of Parliamentary connection, which George III. had set himself to break down, but he was personally intimate with the Prince of Wales, afterwards King George IV. The Prince was now living a dissipated life, and the king attributed the mischief to the evil influence of Fox, though the low character of the Prince himself, and the repulsiveness of the very moral, but exceedingly dull, domestic life of the royal family, had, no doubt, some part in the unfortunate result. The people at large were scandalised at a coalition formed appa-

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rently for the mere purpose of securing power for Fox and North, who had been abusing one another for many years, and who did not come into office to support any policy which Shelburne had opposed, or to frustrate any policy which Shelburne had supported. Nevertheless, sufficient indignation had not yet been shown to enable the king to dissolve Parliament with a fair hope of success. He was, therefore, after various attempts to avoid yielding, obliged on April 2 to admit the Coalition to office. Fox and North became secretaries of state, and the Duke of Portland, a man of no great capacity, became nominally Prime Minister. During the remainder of the session, Pitt again brought forward a motion for Parliamentary reform, attacking the secret influence of the Crown as strongly as the venality of the electors in the petty boroughs. Fox supported and North opposed him; after which his motion was lost by a majority of nearly two to one. When the House of Commons met again, Fox laid before it a bill for the government of India.

4. **The English in Bengal. 1757—1772.**—Clive returned to England in **1760**. Before he left India he had obtained from the Great Mogul the grant of the quit-rent with which the Company had to pay for its zemindary (see p. 764), and thus became himself the landlord of the Company. Whatever might be the nominal position of the Company's servants, in reality they were masters of Bengal. They used their power to fill their own pockets at the expense of the natives. After a career of plunder and extortion many of them returned home with enormous fortunes. In **1765** Clive was sent out again to correct the evil. This he endeavoured to do by increasing the scanty pay of the officials, and by forbidding them to engage in trade or to receive gifts from the natives. On the other hand, he obtained for the Company from the Great Mogul, the weak Shah Alum, who nominally ruled at Delhi, the Dewanni, or financial administration of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, though the criminal jurisdiction was left in the hands of the Nawab a descendant of Meer Jaffier. Constitutionally this grant of the Dewanni first placed the Company in a legal position in Bengal as administrators under the Great Mogul. In **1767** Clive finally left India. For the next five years everything in Bengal was in confusion. The Company's agents collected the revenue and paid the army; but they had no authority to punish crime, and the Nawab, who had, was too weak to enforce order. In **1772**, Warren Hastings was appointed governor of Bengal, with orders to put an end to the confusion.

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5. **Warren Hastings, Governor of Bengal. 1772—1774.**—Hastings was a man of the highest ability, and it would have been well if the Company had given him supreme power to take the whole of the government of Bengal into his own hands, and to set aside the pretence of leaving any part of it to the Nawab. The Company, however, too scrupulous to upset even an evil system which it found in existence, did not authorise him to do this; and though he did immense service in organising the administration on English principles, he could not prevent considerable confusion arising from the technical uncertainty of his position. Beyond the British frontier there was imminent danger. Central India was in the hands of the Mahratta chiefs. The descendants of Sivaji (see p. 759) were reduced to obscurity by the Peishwah or hereditary prime minister at Poonah, whose authority was in turn resisted by other hereditary officers, by Sindhia and Holkar in Malwa, by the Bhonsla in Berar, and by the Guicowar in Guzerat. Divided amongst themselves, these chiefs were always ready to join for plunder or conquest, and it was their military strength that was the greatest danger to the Company's government, and, it must in fairness be added, to the native populations which the Company was bound to protect. To combat the Mahrattas, Hastings carried out a policy—originally sketched out by Clive—of strengthening the Nawab of Oude, in order that he might act as a breakwater against them in defence of Bengal. The Nawab gladly welcomed the proffered alliance, and sought to turn it to account by asking Hastings to support him in annexing Rohilcund, which was governed by the Rohillas, a military body of Afghan descent. In 1774 Hastings lent the Nawab English troops, by whose valour the Rohillas were defeated, whilst the Nawab's own army followed up the victory by plunder and outrage. Politically, Hastings had done much, as he had bound the Nawab to his cause, but he had done this at the expense of soiling the English name by lending English troops to an Eastern potentate who was certain to abuse a victory won by their arms.

6. **The Regulating Act and its Results. 1773—1774.**—In 1773 was passed, at the instance of Lord North, the Regulating Act, which was intended to introduce order into the possessions of the Company in India. What was needed was to strengthen the hands of the governor of its principal possession, Bengal, and to give him control over the governments of Bombay and Madras. The English Parliament, however, had no experience in dealing with Eastern peoples, and tried to introduce constitutional checks,

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which were better suited for Westminster than for Calcutta. The governor of Bengal was to be called governor-general of Bengal, but there was to be a council of four members besides himself, and if he was outvoted in the council, he was to be obliged to conform his conduct to the decisions of his opponents. There was also set up a supreme court, which might easily come into conflict with the governor, as no rules were laid down to define their separate powers. The governor-general had authority over the governors of Madras and Bombay, but it was insufficient to enable him to dictate their policy. In 1774, the new Council held its first sittings. Its leading spirit was Philip Francis, the reputed author of 'Junius's Letters' (see p. 782), a man actuated by a suspiciousness which amounted to a disease, and who landed with the belief, which no evidence could shake, that Hastings was an incapable and corrupt despot. As two of the other councillors constantly voted with Francis he commanded a majority. This majority thwarted Hastings in everything, cancelled his measures, and set on foot an inquiry into his supposed peculations.

7. **Hastings and Nuncomar.** 1775.—To support Francis, Nuncomar, a Hindoo, came forward with evidence that Hastings had taken enormous bribes. This evidence was forged, but the majority of the council supported Nuncomar, hoping to drive Hastings from his post. Suddenly Nuncomar was charged with forgery, and hanged by a sentence of the Supreme Court, over which Sir Elijah Impey presided as chief justice. Forgery was too common a crime in Bengal to be regarded by the natives as highly punishable, and Impey was probably too ready to think that everything sanctioned by the English law was entirely admirable. The sentence, however, was so opportune for Hastings, that it has often been supposed that he had suggested the charge against Nuncomar. Not only, however, did he subsequently deny this upon oath, but modern inquirers have generally come to the conclusion that his denial was true. He may, however, have let fall some chance word which induced the accuser of Nuncomar to think that his action would please the governor-general; and, in any case, it was not difficult for a native who wished to stand well with Hastings, to imagine that the destruction of Nuncomar would be an agreeable service. At all events, Hastings's adversaries were frightened, and no more forged accusations were brought against him.

8. **War with the Mahrattas and Hyder Ali.** 1777—1779. Gradually, by the death or removal of the hostile councillors,

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Hastings regained power. Then came the most critical time in the history of British rule in India. Far more important than all other conflicts in which Englishmen in India were engaged was the struggle renewed from time to time between the Company and the Mahratta confederacy. Important as it was to the Company, it was far more important to the natives of India; as the victory of the Mahrattas would bring with it outrage and misery, whereas the victory of the Company would bring with it the establishment of peace and settled government. Nevertheless, it would have been well if the conflict could have been deferred till the Company was stronger than it then was. Unluckily the Bombay Government entered upon an unnecessary war with the Mahrattas, and, finding itself in danger, called on Hastings for help. In 1777, at the time when the French were preparing to oppose England in America, they sent an emissary to Poonah to prepare the way for an alliance between themselves and the Mahrattas. In 1778 came the news of Burgoyne's capitulation at Saratoga. "If it be really true," said Hastings, "that the British arms and influence have suffered so severe a check in the Western world, it is more incumbent on those who are charged with the interest of Great Britain in the East to exert themselves for the retrieval of the national loss." Into the struggle with the Mahrattas, now likely to pass into a struggle with France, Hastings threw himself with unbounded energy. His position was made almost desperate by the folly of the Madras Government, which unnecessarily provoked the two Mahomedan rulers of the south, the Nizam and an adventurer named Hyder Ali who had made himself master of Mysore. Hyder Ali, the ablest warrior in India, threw himself on the lands over which the British held sway in the Carnatic. "A storm of universal fire," in Burke's language, "blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple." The miserable inhabitants, flying from their burning villages, were slaughtered or swept into captivity. All English eyes turned to Hastings.

9. **Cheyt Singh and the Begums of Oude. 1781—1782.**—Money was the first thing needed, and of money Hastings had but little. He had to send large sums home every year to pay dividends to the Company, and his treasury was almost empty. In his straits, Hastings demanded from Cheyt Singh, the Rajah of Benares, a large payment as a contribution to the war, on the ground that he was a dependent on the Company and therefore bound to support it in times of difficulty. On Cheyt Singh's refusal to pay, Hastings imposed on him an enormous fine, equal to about 500,000*l*. In order

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to ensure payment Hastings went in person to Benares to arrest the Rajah ; but the population rose on his behalf, and Hastings had to fly for his life, though he skilfully made preparations to regain his authority, and before long suppressed the revolters and deposed the Rajah. He then made treaties with some of the Mahratta chiefs, and thus lessened the number of his enemies. The Madras Government, however, continued to cry for support. "We know not," they wrote, " in what words to describe our distress for money." Hastings pressed the Nawab of Oude to furnish him with some, but the Nawab was not rich, because his mother and grandmother, the Begums of Oude as they were called, had retained possession of his father's accumulated treasure, and had enlisted armed men to defend it against him. In **1782** the Nawab laid claim to the money to which he appears to have been rightfully entitled, and in **1782** Hastings lent him the Company's troops to take it from the ladies. They were forced to yield, and Hastings, as his reward, got payment of a large debt which the Nawab owed to the Company.

10. **Restoration of Peace. 1781—1782.**—In **1781**, Hyder Ali was joined by some French troops, but the combined force was defeated at Porto Novo by old Sir Eyre Coote, the victor of Wandewash (see p. 764). In **1782** peace was concluded with the Mahrattas, after which Hyder Ali died, and when the French, in consequence of the end of the war in Europe and America, withdrew their assistance, Hyder Ali's son and successor, Tippoo, also made peace with the English.

11. **Hastings as a Statesman. 1783.**—Hastings, by his pertinacity, had saved the British hold on India and had laid the foundations of a system on which the future peace and prosperity of the country depended. Yet that system would have been severely shaken if future governors-general had continued to levy fines limited only by their own discretion, as had been done in the case of Cheyt Singh, or to supply forces to Eastern potentates to enable them to recover their dues as in the cases of the Rohillas and the Begums of Oude. Much as may be said on Hastings's behalf in all these affairs, it can hardly be denied that it would have been better if he could have supported his government upon the revenues of the Company's own provinces, and could have acted beyond the Company's frontier only by agents responsible to himself. That he did not do so was mainly the fault of the weakness of his own official position. Extraordinary expenditure was in most instances forced on him by the folly of the Council

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which he was compelled to obey or of the governors of Madras and Bombay who disobeyed his orders. What was urgently needed was the reform of a system which left the governor-general hampered in his authority by those who should have been his subordinates, whilst at the same time it was desirable that he should be made directly responsible, not to a trading company interested in making money, but to the British Government itself.

12. **The India Bill of the Coalition. 1783.**—In 1783 the Coalition Ministry brought in a bill for the better government of India, which was intended to meet only the latter of these two requirements. Though the Bill was introduced by Fox into the House of Commons, it was the work of Burke. Burke felt deeply and passionately the wrongs done to the natives of India, and he proposed to take the government entirely away from the East India Company, giving it to a board of seven commissioners, appointed in the bill itself, that is to say, practically by the ministers who drew up the bill. No member of this board could be dismissed by the King for four years, except at the request of both Houses of Parliament, though at the end of four years the king was to name the commissioners. As the whole patronage of India was placed in the hands of the board, and as the possessor of patronage could always sell it for votes in the British Parliament, the bill made for the increase of the power of the Crown in the long run, though it weakened it for four years. The opponents of the Coalition, however, shutting their eyes to the former fact and fixing them on the latter, bitterly attacked the bill as directed against the power of the Crown. It was an attempt, said Thurlow, who had been Lord Chancellor in Lord Shelburne's ministry, to take the diadem from the king's head and to put it on that of Mr. Fox.

13. **The Fall of the Coalition. 1783.**—Though the bill was strongly opposed by Pitt and others, it passed the Commons by a large majority. When it reached the Lords, the king sent a private message through Pitt's cousin, Lord Temple, to each peer, to the effect that whoever voted for the India Bill was not only not the king's friend, but would be considered as his enemy. As many of the lords were conscientiously opposed to the Coalition, and others needed the king's patronage, the bill was thrown out, on which the king contemptuously dismissed the ministry. Constitutional writers have blamed his interference, on the ground that a king ought not to intrigue against ministers supported by the House of Commons. On the other hand, it may be said that on this occasion the ministers had gained their posts by an intrigue,

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and that it was difficult to respect the House of Commons at a time when large numbers of its members were swayed backwards and forwards by hopes of patronage from one side or the other. The only hope of a better state of things lay in the intervention of the nation itself.

14. **Pitt's Struggle with the Coalition. 1783—1784.**—George III., burning to free himself from the Coalition, made Pitt prime minister at the early age of twenty-five. Pitt accepted the position from the king, and so far adopted what was now the established Tory doctrine, that ministers were to be named by the king, and not by the House of Commons; but he also reintroduced what had long been forgotten, the principle that the constituencies must be appealed to before any final decision could be taken. For weeks he struggled in the House of Commons, refusing to resign or to dissolve Parliament until he could place his opponents at a disadvantage. Fox, with his usual want of tact, gave him the advantage which he required, by opposing a dissolution and the consequent appeal to the constituencies, and by insisting that it was Pitt's duty to resign at once, because he was outvoted in the existing House of Commons. Under these circumstances, Pitt was beaten again and again by large majorities. The nation at large had for some time disliked the Coalition as unprincipled, and it now rallied to Pitt in admiration of his undaunted

Costumes of gentlefolk, about 1784.

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resolution. Members of the House, who had supported the Coalition merely for the sake of the loaves and fishes, began to suspect that it might be Pitt after all who would have the loaves and fishes to dispense. These men began to change sides, and Pitt's minority grew larger from day to day. At last, on March 8, 1784, the opposition had only a majority of one. On this Parliament was dissolved. The constituencies rallied to Pitt, and 160 of Fox's supporters lost their seats. They were popularly known as Fox's martyrs.

15. **Pitt's Budget and India Bill. 1784.**—George III., delighted as he was with Pitt's victory, found it impossible to make a tool of him, as he had made a tool of Lord North. Pitt owed his success even more to the nation than to the king, and, with the nation and the House of Commons at his back, he was resolved to have his own way. He soon showed himself to be a first-rate financier, and in his first budget introduced the principle, afterwards largely followed, of reducing customs-duties in order to make smuggling unprofitable. He then passed an India Bill of his own. The Company was to retain all the patronage except the appointment of the governor-general and of one or two high functionaries, so that neither the king nor any other political body would have the disposal of places in India, to serve as an instrument of corruption. As far as the government of India was concerned, it was nominally left in the hands of the directors of the East India Company; but the despatches in which were conveyed the orders to its servants in India were now liable to be amended by a board of control composed of the king's ministers, power being given to this new board to give orders, in cases requiring secrecy, even without the consent of the directors. This dual government, as it was called, lasted till 1858. Whilst Pitt avoided Fox's mistake in the matter of patronage, he deprived the Company of its government without the appearance of doing so. He also strengthened the authority of the governor-general over the governors of Madras and Bombay. Without Burke's animosity against Hastings, he saw that Hastings's system was not one of which he could approve, whilst he had little real knowledge of the difficulties by which Hastings had been embarrassed, and therefore failed to make allowances for them. Hastings discovered that he would not be supported by the new minister, and in February, 1785, he resigned his office and sailed for England.

16. **Pitt's Reform Bill. 1785.**—For the third time (see pp. 799, 801) Pitt attempted to carry Parliamentary reform. He now proposed to lay by a sum of 1,000,000*l.* to be em ployed in buying up

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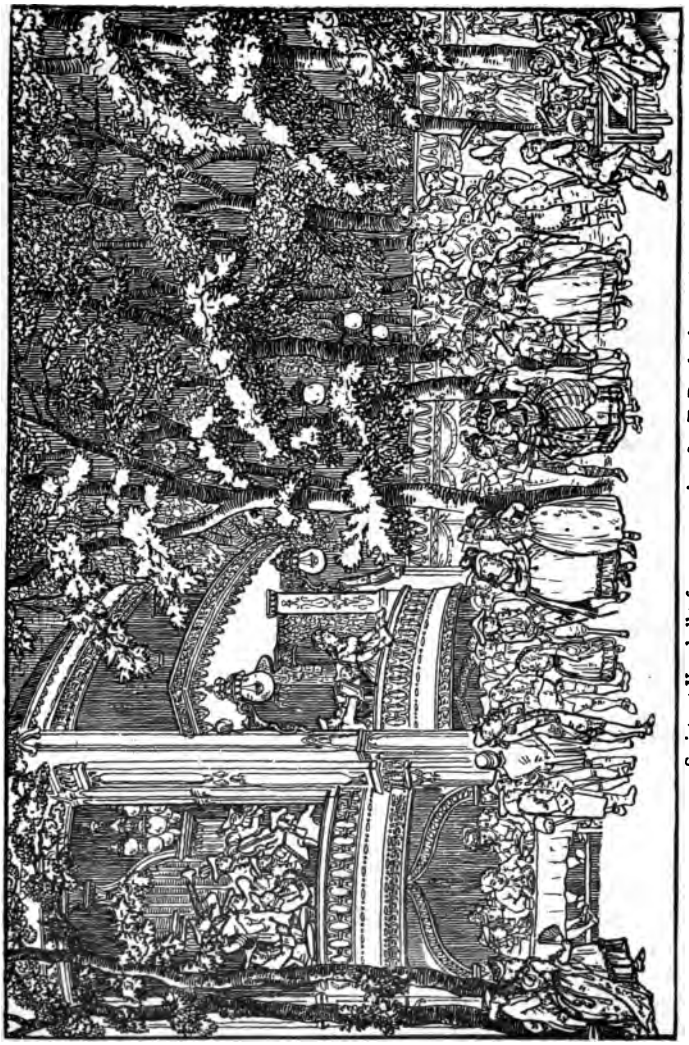

Society at Vauxhall: from an aquatint after T. Rowlandson, 1785.

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seventy-two seats, which were practically in private hands. If any of the owners refused to sell, the share of the purchase-money which would have fallen to him was to be laid out at compound interest till it became valuable enough to tempt him to close with the increased offer. The bill was thrown out, and Pitt never again appeared as a parliamentary reformer. There can be no doubt that he was in earnest in desiring parliamentary reform, as it would have strengthened him against the unpopular Whigs. His proposal of buying up seats, which appears so extraordinary in our own day, was doubtless the result of his perception that he could not otherwise pass the bill, and, when once this offer had been rejected, he must have seen that he could not pass any Reform Bill at all. Pitt was not one of those statesmen who bring forward particular measures on which they have set their hearts, and who carry them ultimately by their self-abnegation in refusing to take further part in the government of the country till right has been done. He clung to power, partly for its own sake, but partly also because he believed the Coalition which he resisted to be so unprincipled that his own retention of office was, in itself, a benefit to the country. No statesman of equal eminence ever failed so often to persuade Parliament to adopt his schemes; but this was chiefly because his schemes were usually too much in advance of the public opinion of the time.

17. **Failure of Pitt's Scheme for a Commercial Union with Ireland. 1785.**—A proposal made by Pitt for a commercial union with Ireland failed as completely as his Reform Bill. There was to be complete free-trade between the two countries, and Ireland in return was to grant a fixed revenue for the maintenance of the navy, by which both countries were protected. The Parliament at Dublin assented to the scheme, but in England the manufacturers raised such an outcry that Pitt was forced to change it, restricting freedom of trade in many directions, and making the Irish Parliament dependent, in some respects, on the British for the regulation of commerce. The scheme thus altered was rejected at Dublin as giving Ireland less than complete freedom of trade and infringing on the independence of her Parliament.

18. **French Commercial Treaty. 1786.**—Pitt was more successful in 1786 with a treaty of commerce with France. The doctrine, that freedom of trade was good for all countries concerned in it, had been promulgated by Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* published in 1776. Shelburne was the first minister who adopted his views, but his official career was too short to enable him to give

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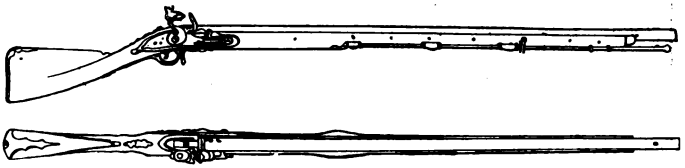
effect to them, and Pitt was, therefore, the first minister to reduce them to practice. Duties were lowered in each country on the productions of the other, and both countries were the better for the change.

19. **Trial of Warren Hastings. 1786—1795.**—In **1786** Pitt appointed Lord Cornwallis Governor-General of India, and took a wise step in obtaining from Parliament an act empowering him to over-rule his council. Cornwallis was a man of strong common sense, and as he had fewer difficulties to contend with than Hastings had had, he was under no temptation to resort to acts such as those which had disfigured the administration of Hastings. In Parliament, Burke, backed by the whole of the Opposition, called for Hastings's impeachment. Pitt gave way, and in **1788** Hastings's trial began before the Lords in Westminster Hall. Burke and Sheridan, in impassioned harangues, laboured to prove him to



Regulation musket, 1786, popularly known as Brown Bess.

have been a tyrant and a villain. The trial dragged on, and it was not till **1795** that the Lords in accordance with the evidence pronounced sentence of acquittal.

20. **The Regency Bill. 1788—1789.**—In **1765** George III. had been for a short time mentally deranged. In the autumn of **1788** there was a more violent recurrence of the malady. Dr. Willis, the first physician who treated lunatics with kindness, asserted a recovery to be probable, though it might be delayed for some time. Both Pitt and Fox were agreed that there must be a regency during the king's illness, and that the Prince of Wales must be the regent. Fox, however, argued that the Prince had a right to the post, and therefore ought not to be subjected to any restrictions. "I'll unwhig the gentleman for the rest of his life," said Pitt, and argued that it was for Parliament to provide a regent. Pitt carried the day, and a bill was passed through both houses conferring the regency on the prince, but limiting his powers by withholding from him the right of making peers, or of appointing to offices, unless the appointments were revocable by the king if he recovered. By

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this arrangement, however, the prince would not be prevented from dismissing the existing ministry and calling a new one to office ; and everyone knew that his first act would be to change the ministry, placing Fox in office instead of Pitt. Nowadays, if a minister had, like Pitt, a large majority in the Commons, it would be impossible for either a king or a regent to make so sudden a change. In those days it was easy enough, because many of Pitt's supporters would certainly go over to Fox as soon as he had the patronage of the kingdom in his hands. Pitt himself knew that it would be so, and as he had amassed no fortune, declared his readiness to 'take his blue bag again' and practise as a barrister. The expected change, however, never took place, as, under the wise care of Dr. Willis, the king recovered in the spring of 1789, and the Regency Bill became unnecessary.

Pitt speaking in the House of Commons: from Huckel's painting in the National Portrait Gallery.

21. **The Thanksgiving at St. Paul's. 1789.**—When George III. returned thanks for his recovery at St. Paul's, the enthusiasm of the whole population was unbounded. Something of this popularity was undoubtedly owing to the disgust which had been caused by the recent misconduct of the Prince of Wales, who had heartlessly jeered at the unhappy condition of his father—speaking, for instance, of the king in a pack of cards as a lunatic—but much of it was the result of genuine delight at the king's recovery. The mass of people could appreciate his domestic virtues, and had no reason to be dissatisfied with his policy. Even if he had gone wrong in the matter of the American War, he went wrong in company with the large majority of his subjects, and for the last five years he had reaped the benefit of the firm and enlightened government of Pitt.

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22. **Growth of Population. 1700–1801.**—The country which gave power to Pitt in **1784**, and which sustained him in it in **1789**, had changed much since the beginning of the century. Its population was more numerous, its wealth greater, and its intellectual activity more widely spread. The population of England and Wales was probably about 5,000,000 in **1700**; about 6,000,000 in **1750**; and was certainly about 9,000,000 in **1801**. Such growing numbers could not have been fed if there had not been improvements in farming to give them more food, and improvements in manufacture to give them more employment.

23. **Improvements in Agriculture.**—Up to the early part of the eighteenth century, husbandry had been poor, and the necessity of leaving corn land fallow once in three years had made the produce of the soil scanty. Lord Townshend, after his quarrel with Walpole, encouraged, by his example, the cultivation of turnips, and as turnips could be planted in the third year in which the ground had hitherto been left fallow, the crops were largely increased. By degrees improvements in draining and manuring were also introduced.

24. **Cattle-breeding.**—In **1755**, Bakewell began to improve the breed of sheep and cattle by judicious crossing. The result was that, before long, a sheep or an ox produced twice as many pounds of meat as before, and that the meat was far more tasty. Improvements in agriculture and cattle-breeding were possible, because landowners were wealthy enough to enclose waste lands and to make poor lands fit for culture. In one way, however, the changes effected were not for good. The small proprietor, who had hitherto to a great extent kept himself free from debt by the domestic manufactures of his wife and daughters, could not afford to lay out the money needed for the cultivation of his land in the new fashion, and was forced to sell it. Thus gradually small holdings were bought by large landowners, and the work of cultivation fell almost entirely into the hands of hired labourers.

25. **The Bridgewater Canal. 1761.**—Trade, which had been growing steadily during the first half of the century, received an impulse from the invention of a new means of conveyance. Goods had been conveyed either on slow and lumbering waggons, or, more often, on the backs of pack-horses. Such a means of transport added greatly to the price of the goods, and made it almost impossible for an inland town to compete in foreign markets with one near the sea. It happened that the Duke of Bridgewater owned a coal mine at Worsley, seven miles from Manchester; but

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hills intervened, and the expense of carting the coal over the seven miles was too great to make it worth his while to send the coals to Manchester. The duke consulted James Brindley, a millwright in his service, who, though he was without any scientific education, not only advised him to make a canal, but carried out the work for him. There were indeed already canals in existence, but there were none to the making of which the natural obstacles were so great. Brindley's canal passed under hills through tunnels, and over valleys on aqueducts. A famous engineer on being shown a valley which the canal had to cross, asked where the water was to flow. When a spot high up on the hill-side was pointed out to

Lock on a Canal.

him, he said that he had often heard of 'castles in the air,' but he had never before been shown where one was to be built. In **1761** the canal was finished, and many others were before long made in other parts of the country.

26. **Cotton-spinning. 1738.**—In old days, the spinning of thread was mainly committed to young women, who were consequently known as spinsters. In the middle ages and long afterwards the material spun was wool, and Parliament had been so anxious to extend the manufacture of woollen cloth that it even passed an Act directing that all persons should be 'buried in woollen.' Gradually, in the eighteenth century, calico came into

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use, and in **1738** the invention of Kay's flying shuttle enabled the weavers to produce double as much as before, thus creating a demand for cotton thread which all the spinners in England were unable to meet.

27. **Hargreaves' Spinning-Jenny. 1767.**—Necessity is the mother of invention, and, in order to provide thread for the weavers, Hargreaves, in **1767**, invented the spinning-jenny, which worked several spindles at once, and enabled a single spinner to produce more than a hundred threads at the same time. By this discovery many persons were thrown out of work, as there was not a demand for calico enough to occupy all the spinners who at first had been needed to produce threads with their hands only. Accordingly, Hargreaves' neighbours broke his machine and obliged him to fly for his life. In the long run, indeed, Hargreaves' invention, like all labour-saving inventions, would, by producing cheaply, create a demand which would increase, instead of diminishing the number of labourers employed in the manufactures; but it could hardly be expected that uneducated men, threatened with starvation, would look so far ahead.

James Brindley: from the portrait by Parsons, engraved by H. Cook.

28. **Arkwright and Crompton. 1769—1779.**—In **1769** Arkwright took out a patent for an improved spinning machine worked by water-power. He, too, became obnoxious to the hand-workers, and his mill was burned down by a mob. He was, however, determined to succeed, and was at last allowed to live in peace. A yet further improvement was made in **1779**, when a poor weaver named Samuel Crompton invented a spinning-machine known as 'the mule.' When his machine was finished, hearing that a mob was collecting with the intention of destroying it, he took it to pieces and concealed it.

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When quiet was restored, he put it together, and began to spin. Manufacturers came round his house, and peeped through his windows to discover his secret. Crompton had not enough money to take out a patent so as to secure the profits of his invention. He, therefore, told his secret, on the promise of the manufacturers to raise a subscription for him. They subscribed no more than 67*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*, and made thousands of pounds by the work of his brains.

Arkwright.

29. **Cartwright's Power-loom. 1785.** — Before Hargreaves invented the spinning-jenny, no more cotton had been spun than was required by the weavers. After Crompton invented the 'mule,' the weavers could not make into calico nearly as much thread as was produced. In 1785, a clergyman named Cartwright patented a power-loom, which, by weaving by machinery, increased the number of looms and thus kept the spinning 'mules' in full work.

30. **Watt's Steam-Engine. 1785.**—There were many other inventions in different branches of manufacture; but the most important of all was Watt's steam-engine. For some time steam-engines had been employed for pumping water out of collieries (see p. 708), but

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they consumed much fuel, and therefore cost too much to come into general use. James Watt, a mathematical instrument maker in Glasgow, discovered a way of lessening the cost of fuel, and of making the engine more serviceable at the same time. He entered into partnership with a capitalist named Boulton, and set up works near Birmingham. At first manufacturers distrusted the new engines, and Boulton and Watt only succeeded in inducing them to buy by offering to go without payment if the engines sold did not

Crompton: from a portrait by Allingham.

save their cost in the course of a year. Before long all manufacturers were anxious to get them. "I sell here," said Boulton to George III., when he visited his works, "what all the world desires—power."

31. **General Results of the Growth of Manufactures.**—One great result of the invention of the improved steam-engine was the transference of population from the south to the north. Hitherto the north had been poor and of little weight in the political scale. When the north had taken part in political struggles it had usually chosen the side ultimately rejected by the nation. It fought in the reign of Henry VI. for the Lancastrians; in the reign of Henry VIII. for the monasteries; in the reign of Elizabeth for the Papacy; in the reign of Charles I. for the king; in the reign of

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George I. for the Pretender. Coal, however, existed in many parts of the north; the steam-engine followed coal, manufactures followed the steam-engine, and population followed manufactures. In Sussex, for instance, there was in the seventeenth century a considerable population supported by the manufacture of iron, and it was from this Sussex iron that the railings round St. Paul's were made. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the weald of Sussex, on which had once stood the forest which had for some time blocked the way of the South Saxon conquest (see p. 27), had been denuded of its wood, in consequence of the large demands made by the furnaces for smelting iron, and now the industry of iron manufacture moved entirely to the north. At first, indeed, the transfer of labourers to the north was not followed by beneficial results. The crowds who gathered for work were for the most part ignorant and always in haste to be rich. There was neglect of sanitary requirements, and those who rose to be masters often wore away the lives of their workmen. As yet, law did not interfere to protect the weak—the women and children—from excessive labour, or to guard against the frequent occurrence of preventable accidents. It was as though a new world had opened in the north, of which Parliament knew so little that it neither desired to regulate it nor even thought of making the attempt.

Books recommended for the further study of Part IX.

LECKY, W. E. H. History of England in the Eighteenth Century. Vol. iii. p. 1—Vol. v. p. 153; Vol. vi. pp. 138–455.
STANHOPE, Earl. History of England since the Peace of Utrecht. Vol. iv. p. 308—Vol. vii.
MACAULAY, Lord. Essays on Chatham and Clive.
TREVELYAN, Sir George. The Early Life of C. J. Fox.
MORLEY, J. Burke: an Historical Study.
RUSSELL, Earl. Memorials and Correspondence of C. J. Fox.
WAKEMAN, H. O. Fox.
LEWIS, Sir George Cornewall. Essays on the Administrations of Great Britain, pp. 1–129.
WILSON, Sir Charles. Clive.
LYALL, Sir A. Warren Hastings.
TROTTER, Capt. L. J. Warren Hastings.
The Political History of England.
Vol. 9 (1702–1760) by T. S. Lecdam.
Vol. 10 (1760–1801) by Rev. W. Hunt.

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PART X

THE CONFLICT WITH DEMOCRACY. 1789—1827

CHAPTER LI

ENGLAND AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. 1789—1795

LEADING DATES

Reign of George III., 1760—1820

Meeting of the States-General at Versailles	May 5, 1789
Declaration of War between France and the King of Hungary and his Allies	April 20, 1792
Louis XVI. driven from the Tuileries	Aug. 10, 1792
Proclamation of the French Republic	Sept. 22, 1792
Execution of Louis XVI.	Jan. 21, 1793
Declaration of War between France and England	Feb. 1, 1793
Battle of the First of June	June 1, 1794
End of the Reign of Terror	July 28, 1794
Treaty of Basel, between France and Prussia	April 5, 1795
Establishment of the Directory	Oct. 27, 1795

1. **Prospects of Pitt's Ministry. 1789.**—The spread of manufacturing industry did much to strengthen Pitt's government, because the wealthy manufacturers were jealous of the landed aristocracy, and, therefore, supported him against the great Whig families. In the beginning of **1789** there seemed to be every prospect that Pitt's tenure of office would continue to be distinguished by a long series of gradual reforms, carried out just so far as Pitt could induce the nation to follow him. Before long, however, events took place in France which shocked the English nation, and produced a temper hostile to reform.

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2. **Material Antecedents of the French Revolution.**—The form of government in France had long been an absolute monarchy; but, though the kings had deprived the nobles and the clergy of all political power, they had allowed them to retain privileges injurious to the rest of the community. The nobles and the clergy, for instance, who formed the first two estates, paid much lower taxes than the rest of the people, and the Third Estate, which comprised all who were not noblemen or clergymen, bore, in consequence, heavier burdens than ought to have been placed on them. Many noblemen and clergymen, again, were *seigneurs*, or, as would have been said in England, Lords of Manors, and though the peasants who lived on their estates were often actually proprietors of their own pieces of land, they had nevertheless to pay dues to their *seigneurs* on all sorts of occasions, as for instance when they sold land or brought their produce to market. The *seigneurs*, too, often treated the peasants harshly by riding over their crops in pursuit of game, or by keeping flocks of pigeons which devoured their corn. People will sometimes bear injuries from those who render some public service, but in France in the eighteenth century the *seigneurs* did no public service, as the kings had jealously deprived them of the right of taking part—as English country gentlemen took part—in administering justice or in looking after the business of the district in which they lived. The *seigneurs* and the nobility in general were accordingly hated, in the first place as obnoxious to their neighbours, and in the second place as useless idlers.

3. **Intellectual Antecedents of the French Revolution.**—Discontent only results in revolution when there are found thinking men to lead the oppressed masses, and in France there were thinkers and writers who prepared the way for great changes. Voltaire and several other writers proclaimed the supremacy of human reason. They called upon kings and rulers to govern reasonably, attacking not only unreasonable and cruel laws, bearing hardly on individuals or injurious to the state and the institutions of civil life, but the practices and doctrines of Christianity itself. The professors of Christianity in France were certainly open to attack. Not only were the bishops and higher clergy rolling in wealth and living worldly and sometimes vicious lives, whilst the poor parish priests (*curés*) who did the work were in great poverty, but the bishops cried out for the persecution of Protestants and sceptics, although some of them were themselves sceptics. On one occasion Louis XVI., who had reigned since 1774, being asked to name a certain man, who was known to be a sceptic,

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as archbishop, replied that an archbishop ought at least to believe in God. Whilst Voltaire and his allies asked that all things should be done by the king and his ministers according to reason, another writer, Rousseau, taught that all had equal rights, and that the people ought to govern themselves, holding that they knew by experience their own needs far better than those who undertook to govern them, and that as the people were always good and just, they would never act tyrannically as kings and priests had too often done.

4. **Louis XVI. 1774—1789.**—The feeling of the French people in general when Louis XVI. came to the throne was hostile not to monarchy but to the privileged orders, namely, the nobility and the clergy. If, therefore, Louis XVI. had put himself at the head of this movement, he would have become a more powerful king than even Louis XIV. Unfortunately, though he was unselfish and well intentioned, he had neither strength of will nor clearness of head, and he allowed the Government to drift into helplessness. Before long he was rushing into bankruptcy, which could only be averted if the nobles and clergy were compelled to pay taxes like the Third Estate. Louis XVI. had not the nerve to compel them to do it, and in **1789** he summoned the States-General, a body answering in some respects to our Parliament, but which had not met for a hundred and seventy-five years. He did this not because he wished to lead his people, but because he did not know any other way of procuring the money that he needed.

5. **The National Assembly. 1789.**—When the States-General met, the work of doing justice upon the privileged orders passed out of the king's hands. Each of the Three Estates had elected its own representatives to the States-General, and those of the Third Estate successfully insisted on all the representatives sitting in one chamber and calling themselves the National Assembly. The National Assembly assumed the right of making a constitution, and when the king feebly attempted to take that work into his own hands, and gave signs of an intention to employ force to make good his claim, the mob rose on July 14 and took the Bastille, a great fortress which commanded the poorer quarters of Paris. Then the peasants rose in many parts of France, burning and sacking the country houses of the *seigneurs*, and, on August 4, the National Assembly swept away all the special privileges of the two privileged orders. From henceforth there was to be in France what there had for centuries been in England—equality before the law.

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6. **England and France. 1789—1790.**—At first the Revolution in France was generally welcomed in England. Englishmen thought that they had before them a mere repetition of the English Revolution of **1688**, and that a Parliamentary Government was about to be set up in France, similar to that which existed in England. It was a complete mistake. The English Revolution had been directed to limit the power of the king. The French Revolution was directed to overthrow the privileges of an aristocracy. The French king became involved in the quarrel by attempting to check the National Assembly, which he distrusted. On October 5 the mob marched upon Versailles, broke into the palace, slaughtered some of the guards, and on the next morning led the king captive to Paris. On the one hand the Assembly made enemies by meddling with the constitution of the Church; and on the other hand many who had profited by the overthrow of the privileged orders suspected the nobles and the clergy to be intriguing to regain what they had lost, and treated them with harshness and cruelty. The National Assembly busied itself with drawing up a constitution based on abstract principles, whilst it took no account of the necessity of establishing a firm and strong government. It kept the king on the throne, but distrusted him too much to give him real power, and the natural result of such a state of things was the growth of turbulence and anarchy.

7. **Fox, Burke, and Pitt. 1789—1790.**—In England, each of the great statesmen then living had his own way of regarding the events passing in France. Fox, enthusiastic and impulsive, gave to the Revolution unstinted praise. "How much," he wrote, on hearing of the capture of the Bastille, "the greatest event it is that ever happened in the world; and how much the best!" Burke, on the other hand, regarded with disfavour, soon passing into hatred, the destruction of old institutions and the foundation of new ones on general principles. Being unable to perceive how impossible it was, in the existing circumstances of France, to found a government on those old institutions which had so completely broken down, he reviled the National Assembly, with all the wealth of argument and rhetoric at his command. Towards the end of **1790**, he published his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, in which he pointed out, with great sagacity, the danger of all attempts to alter suddenly the habits and institutions of nations, though he failed entirely to suggest any practicable remedy for the evils which existed in France. On May 6, **1791**, there was a complete breach between him and Fox. His dying words, he said,

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would be, "Fly from the French Revolution!" Pitt agreed with Burke rather than with Fox; but he held that his business was to govern England rather than to denounce France, and he contented himself with hoping that the disorders in France, by weakening that country for a long time, would make the preservation of peace easier.

8. **Clarkson and the Slave Trade. 1783—1788.**—Cautious as Pitt was, he shared in some of the generous hopes which filled the mind of Fox. In **1772** Lord Mansfield laid down the law that a slave imported into England becomes free; but the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool were at this time carrying some fifty thousand negroes a year to slavery in the West Indies. On their way across the Atlantic the poor wretches suffered horrible torments, being packed almost as closely as the sufferers in the Black Hole of Calcutta, in nearly as stifling an atmosphere, so that large numbers died on the way. In **1783** a young man named Clarkson gained a prize at Cambridge for an essay on the question whether it was right to make slaves of others, and on his journey home sat down by the wayside to meditate whether the arguments which he used were to be more to him than mere words. He resolved to devote his life to the abolition of the slave trade, and for some years went about the quays at Liverpool, picking up facts from sailors. In **1788** he won to his side some members of the Society of Friends, and published the evidence which he had gathered. Wilberforce, the member for Yorkshire, one of the most pious and disinterested of men, took up the cause, and Wilberforce influenced Pitt.

9. **Pitt and the Slave Trade. 1788—1792.** In **1788** a Bill was brought in by Sir William Dolben, by which means were to be taken for improving the sanitary condition of the vessels carrying slaves. The slave-traders resisted it and argued that the negroes liked being taken from their own barbarous country, and danced and made merry on deck. On enquiry, it turned out that they were from time to time flogged on deck, in order to keep up the circulation of the blood in their numbed limbs, and that what their tyrants called dancing was merely their shrinking from the lash. The Bill passed the Commons, but the Lords so changed it as to make it useless. In **1789** and **1790** Wilberforce urged the Commons to abolish the wicked slave trade entirely, and in **1792** Pitt spoke vehemently in support of the proposal, but the House of Commons refused to accept it. The men of property of whom it was composed thought that the first duty of legislators was to protect

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property, whether it was property in human beings or in houses and goods.

10. **Rise of a Warlike Feeling in France. 1791—1792.**—In September, **1791**, the National Assembly finished its work on the constitution, and the Legislative Assembly, which, according to the constitution, was to be the first of a series of Assemblies each lasting for two years, met on October 1. The most influential party in the new Assembly was that of the Girondists, of which the leaders were young and enthusiastic, but utterly without political experience. Many causes contributed to create a warlike feeling. Crowds of emigrants, French nobles who had left the country either in anger at the revolutionary laws, or in fear lest they should themselves be harshly treated, gathered at Coblentz and held out threats of invasion and vengeance. It was, moreover, believed in France that the Emperor Leopold II., the brother of the Queen, Marie Antoinette, had combined with the king of Prussia, Frederick William II., to collect troops with the intention of marching on Paris in support of the emigrants. The Girondists, not doubting that Louis XVI. desired the overthrow of the constitution even with foreign aid, fanned the warlike feeling in the Assembly, in the hope that when war had once been declared the king would lose the confidence of the nation and that the fall of his throne might be effected without a struggle. They also expected that the war would be short and easy, because they imagined that the subjects of the rulers opposed to them would gladly accept aid from the French armies to win for themselves the equality and popular sovereignty which had been established in France. 'Let us tell Europe,' said one of their orators, 'that if Cabinets engage kings in a war against peoples, we will engage peoples in a war against kings.' As a matter of fact, neither the Emperor nor the King of Prussia was at this time eager to enter on hostilities with France. Leopold II., however, died on March 1, and his son Francis, who succeeded him as King of Hungary and Archduke of Austria by hereditary right, and who, some months later, was chosen Emperor as Francis II., resenting the strong language used in Paris, threatened to interfere in France, and on April 20, **1792**, the Assembly retaliated by declaring war against him and his allies, amongst whom the King of Prussia was included.

11. **The French Republic. 1792.**—Burke would have gladly seen England allying itself to Austria and Prussia in the work of crushing French revolutionary principles. Pitt refused to depart

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from his policy of peace. The allies invaded France, and, on August 10, the Paris mob rose in insurrection against the king, who could hardly help wishing well to the invaders who had come to liberate him from bondage. Louis thereupon took refuge with the Legislative Assembly, which suspended him from the exercise of all authority, but, declaring itself incompetent to give a final solution to the question of government, ordered the election of a National Convention to settle it. The Paris mob, hounded on by bloodthirsty and unscrupulous leaders, seized the opportunity when there was no real authority in France, to burst into the prisons and massacre the prisoners suspected of desiring to help the enemy. On September 20 the French army checked the invaders by the cannonade of Valmy, and on the 21st the Convention met and decreed the abolition of the monarchy, thus declaring France to be a republic. On November 6 the French won a victory over the Austrians at Jemmapes, and soon afterwards occupied the Austrian Netherlands, Savoy, and Nice, advanced into Germany, and took possession of Mainz.

12. **Breakdown of Pitt's Policy of Peace. 1792—1793.**— The September massacres made Pitt's policy of peace almost hopeless, by the shock which they gave to English public opinion. The subsequent proceedings of the French Revolutionists drove Pitt himself into a policy of war. On November 19, **1792**, the Convention offered its assistance to all peoples desirous of obtaining their freedom, and, on December 15, ordered its generals wherever they were to proclaim the sovereignty of the people and the abolition of feudal rights and privileges. The war was a war not between one nation and another, but between social classes. France, enthusiastic for her new principles, did not neglect her interests. She supported her armies at the expense of the wealthy inhabitants of the countries they overran. She treated the territory of the Austrian Netherlands as if it were her own. In all this Pitt did not find a cause of war, as Austria was at war with France. He remonstrated when France threw open the Scheldt to commerce, which, ever since the 17th century, had been closed by European treaties to please the Dutch who occupied both banks of its estuary; but he took his stand in resisting a threatened French invasion of the Dutch Netherlands. Whilst the feelings on both sides were growing in hostility, the French Convention condemned Louis XVI. to death, and, on January 21, **1793**, sent him to the scaffold. A thrill of horror ran through England, and on February 1. the Convention, knowing that

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peace could not be maintained, and being resolved to pursue its attack on the Dutch Republic, took the initiative in declaring war against England and the Dutch.

13. **French Defeats and the Reign of Terror. 1793.**—When the campaign of 1793 opened, a combined army of Austrians and Prussians advancing in overwhelming numbers drove the French out of the Austrian Netherlands. A force of 10,000 British soldiers, under the king's second son, the Duke of York, joined the victorious allies. At Paris the leading Girondists were expelled from the Convention, and a party known as that of the Jacobins rose to power. The Girondists were so alarmed lest a strong government should develop a despotism that they resisted the establishment of that firm authority which could alone save France from disaster. The Jacobins had no such scruples. In July France was in desperate case. Mainz, Condé, and Valenciennes surrendered, and the Duke of York laid siege to Dunkirk. The Jacobins had to deal with insurrection at home as well as with invasion from abroad. Lyons and Toulon rose against them in the south, La Vendée in the west. They met foreign and domestic enemies on the one hand by calling to arms all the patriotic youth of the country, and on the other hand by a savage system of executions by the guillotine. A Committee of Public Safety directed the government. A revolutionary tribunal judged swiftly on imperfect evidence and with the most violent passion all who were even suspected to be guilty of showing favour to the invaders or to the dispossessed nobility. The Reign of Terror, as it is called, began with the execution of the queen, on October 16. Twenty-two Girondists were executed on October 22, and for months afterwards blood—for the most part innocent blood—was mercilessly shed on the scaffold.

14. **French Successes. 1793.**—It was not the Reign of Terror, but the devotion of her sons, which saved France. On September 8 a French victory at Hondschoote forced the Duke of York to raise the siege of Dunkirk. On October 7 Lyons surrendered. On the 16th, by the victory of Wattignies, the French overpowered the Austrians in the Netherlands, and before the end of the year they drove back both Austrians and Prussians in the country between the Moselle and the Rhine. The army of the Vendeans was destroyed at Le Mans on December 12, and Toulon, which had admitted an English fleet into its harbour, was captured by the skill of young General Bonaparte on the 19th. These successes were due as much to the divisions of the allies as to French valour and conduct. Austria and Prussia had long been rivals, and there

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was little real confidence between them even now. In **1772** these two powers, together with Russia, had stripped anarchical Poland of some of her provinces. In **1793** Russia and Prussia were proceeding to a second partition of her territory; whilst Austria was seeking compensation for being left without a share in this new partition of Poland by the acquisition of territory in France. Now that her armies had been driven back, her chance of getting such a compensation was at an end, and her rulers, throwing the blame on Prussia for her lukewarmness in the war with France, began to detest Prussia even more than they detested the French Republic.

15. **Progress of the Reign of Terror. 1793—1794.**—Pitt's mistake had been in thinking that he could take part in a great struggle of principles as though it were merely a struggle for the proper delimitation of States. The French had on their side enthusiasm, not only for their country, but for their own conception of the welfare of humanity. The Governments of Prussia and Austria had no enthusiasm for the old order of things which they professed to support. Even Pitt himself was an example of the impossibility of treating the danger from France as merely territorial. Seeing clearly the evil of the French aggression and the cruelty of the Reign of Terror, he grew to hate the French revolutionary spirit almost as strongly as Burke. It is hardly to be wondered at that it was so. The tyranny of the Reign of Terror became worse and worse. The Convention was dominated by a few bloodthirsty men who sent hundreds to the guillotine, not because they were even suspected of being traitors, but often merely because they did not sympathise with the revolution, or because their condemnation would be followed by the confiscation of their goods. The dominant parties turned upon one another. One party led by Hébert announced itself Atheist, and dressing up women to represent the Goddess of Reason, placed them on the altars of desecrated churches, and danced round them in honour of the principle which they represented. Another party, led by Robespierre, declared itself Deist, and early in **1794** Robespierre sent Hébert and his followers to the guillotine.

16. **Reaction in England. 1792—1793.**—In his growing detestation of these horrors, Pitt was supported by the great mass of Englishmen. In **1792** he refused to accept a proposal for Parliamentary reform, urged in the House of Commons by a young member, Mr. Grey, on the ground that it was not a fitting time to alter the Constitution. In **1793** he was frightened lest the French revolutionary spirit should find its way into England, because a certain number

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of persons, regretting their exclusion from all part in parliamentary elections, joined clubs which loudly expressed their sympathy with the French innovations. The danger from such clubs was excessively small, but Pitt and well nigh the whole of the propertied classes dreaded the establishment of a reign of violence in England. In the beginning of **1793**, an Act was passed authorising the Government to remove suspected foreigners, and late in the year a Treasonable Correspondence Act was passed to throw obstacles in the way of persons seeking to give assistance to the French, with whom England was by that time at war. No exception can be taken to these measures. It was, however, unjustifiable that the Government, fully supported by judges and juries, should authorise not only the prosecution, but the harshest punishment of persons guilty merely of using strong language against the king or the institutions of the realm. Amongst the sufferers was a bill-sticker who was imprisoned for six months for posting up an address asking for Parliamentary reform, and a man named Hudson who was sentenced to a fine of 200*l.* and two years' imprisonment for proposing a toast to 'The French Republic.' In Scotland Thomas Muir was sent to transportation for fourteen years for exciting to sedition and joining an association for obtaining universal suffrage and annual parliaments. "The landed interest," said the judge who tried the case, "alone has a right to be represented; the rabble has nothing but personal property; and what hold has the nation on them?"

17. **End of the Reign of Terror. 1794.**—On July 28 the Reign of Terror in France came suddenly to an end by the execution of Robespierre. The course of the war in the spring of **1794** had been wholly in favour of France on land, and on June 26 a great French victory over the Austrians at Fleurus was followed by the complete evacuation of the Austrian Netherlands by the allies. It was little to counterbalance this that Lord Howe gained a victory, usually known as the Battle of the First of June, over a French fleet near the mouth of the Channel. France was no longer in danger, and France being safe, it was impossible for the Terrorists again to acquire control over the Government.

18. **Coalition between Pitt and the majority of the Whigs. 1794.**—In England one effect of the Reign of Terror had been to sweep away the differences between Pitt and the majority of the Whigs. Following **Burke**, the latter had for some time been voting with Pitt, and in **1794** their leaders, the Duke of Portland, Lord Fitzwilliam, and Mr. Windham entered Pitt's Cabinet. Fox and Grey with a

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scanty following continued in opposition, partly because, though they loathed the bloody scenes in France, they thought that England ought to remain at peace ; partly because they held that the best way to meet French revolutionary ideas in England was to push on internal reforms. Before the end of the year the violent proceedings in the English law-courts received a check by the refusal of juries to convict Horne Tooke, Hardy, and Thelwall, who were accused of seditious practices. They were no doubt acquitted because

Uniform of Sailors about 1790.

ordinary Englishmen resumed their usual habit of distrusting government interference, as soon as the irritation caused by the Reign of Terror was at an end.

19. **The Treaties of Basel.** 1795.—French conquests did not come to an end with the Reign of Terror. In January 1795 a French army under Pichegru overran the Dutch Netherlands and established a Batavian republic on a democratic basis. About the same time there was a third and final partition of Poland, in which Austria, Prussia, and Russia all shared. Prussia had no more to gain in Poland, and on April 5, being unwilling to help Austria to make conquests in France, she concluded peace at Basel with the French Convention. On July 12 Spain, following the example of Prussia, also signed a treaty of peace at Basel.

20. **The Establishment of the Directory in France.** 1795.—Pitt

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failed to appreciate the real difficulties of the war on which he had embarked. In spite of all the atrocities of the Terror, the feeling in France was so strong against any reaction in favour of the old nobility, that there was not the slightest chance of overthrowing the Republican government by giving aid to the French emigrants. The Count of Puisaye, an emigrant royalist, persuaded Pitt to disembark him and a number of other emigrants in Quiberon Bay, in the belief that the country round would take up the royalist cause. The expedition ended in entire failure. In October a new constitution was established by the Convention. The legislature consisted of two councils, and the executive of a body of five Directors. The violent stage of the French Revolution had come to an end, and there were many in England who thought that it would be desirable to make peace with a government which gave some hopes of moderation and stability, especially as the burden of the war had given rise to grave discontent in England. When George III. drove through the streets on October 29 to open Parliament, he was surrounded by a hooting mob. A bullet pierced one of his carriage windows.

21. **The Treason Act and the Sedition Act. 1795.**—Pitt could see nothing but revolutionary violence in this outburst. He carried through Parliament two Bills, one declaring the mere writing, preaching, or speaking words against the king's authority to be treason, and the stirring up hatred against the king's person or the established government and constitution to be a punishable misdemeanour; the other forbidding all political meetings unless advertised beforehand, and permitting any two justices to disperse them if they thought them dangerous. Against these Bills Fox spoke with extreme vehemence; but Pitt's supporters did him more harm than his opponents. "The people," said Bishop Horsley, "had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them." The two Bills became law, but public feeling was so set against them that they were never put into operation.

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CHAPTER LII

THE UNION WITH IRELAND AND THE PEACE OF AMIENS

1795—1804

LEADING DATES

Reign of George III., 1760-1820

Lord Fitzwilliam in Ireland	1795
Bonaparte Invades Italy	1796
Pitt's First Negotiation with the Directory	1796
Battles of St. Vincent and Camperdown	1797
Pitt's Second Negotiation with the Directory	1797
Irish Rebellion	1798
The Battle of the Nile	1798
The Irish Union	1800
Pitt succeeded by Addington	1801
Peace of Amiens	March 28, 1802
Rupture of the Treaty of Amiens	1803
Resignation of Addington	April 30, 1804

1. **The Irish Government and Parliament. 1785—1791.**—In 1785, when Pitt was aiming at a commercial union with Ireland, he had expressed a desire to make 'England and Ireland one country in effect, though for local concerns under distinct legislatures.' The difficulty, however, lay in the unfitness of the Parliament at Dublin to play the part of a legislature 'for local concerns.' It was in no true sense representative. Three-fourths of the population were excluded as Catholics from sitting in Parliament and from voting at elections. Nor was the Irish House of Commons in any sense representative of the remaining Protestant fourth. The number of its members was three hundred, and of these, two hundred were chosen by less than one hundred persons, who controlled the elections of petty boroughs. Moreover, as the ministers in Ireland were responsible, not to Parliament, but to the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Lieutenant could, except in times of great excitement, govern without reference to the wishes of the House of Commons, and whenever it seemed desirable to him to have the House of Commons on his side he could, by a lavish distribution of places and pensions, buy up the votes of the members or of their patrons, as neither had any constituents to fear. Usually, however, the Lord Lieutenant who wished

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to lead an easy life preferred to govern in accordance with the wishes of the corrupt faction which formed the Parliamentary majority.

2. **The United Irishmen and Parliamentary Reform. 1791—1794.**—Nowhere were the objections to this state of things felt more strongly than amongst the Presbyterians, who formed a great part of the population of Ulster, and especially of the flourishing town of Belfast, and were excluded as completely as the Catholics from office and from Parliament. Amongst the upper and middle classes in Ulster, religious bigotry had almost died out, and they had, for some time past, been ready to admit Catholics to the franchise and to put them on political equality with themselves. Then came the influence of the French Revolution, and, in October **1791**, the Society of United Irishmen was founded at Belfast by Wolfe Tone, himself a Presbyterian. Its object was to unite Catholics and Protestants by widening the franchise and by opening office and Parliament to all without distinction of creed. Pitt took alarm, but in **1793**, in order to baffle this extreme demand, he obtained from the Irish Parliament two Acts, the one freeing the Catholics from some of the worst penalties under which they suffered, and the other allowing them to vote for members of Parliament. As, however, they were still disqualified from sitting in Parliament, the concession was almost illusory, and, moreover, only a minority of seats depended on election in any real sense. In **1794** a very moderate Reform Bill, proposing the increase of independent constituencies, was rejected in the Irish House of Commons by a decisive majority.

3. **The Mission of Lord Fitzwilliam. 1794—1795.**—The seceders from the Whig party who joined Pitt in **1794** urged him to strengthen the Irish Government by granting Catholic emancipation and moderate reform, so as to keep in check the revolutionists on the one hand and the corrupt officials on the other. Pitt consented to send Lord Fitzwilliam, one of the Whig seceders, to Ireland, as Lord Lieutenant, rather because he wished to gratify his new allies than because he personally approved of the change. Fitzwilliam himself understood that there was to be a complete change of system and that justice was to be done to the Catholics; but he had held only verbal communications with Pitt, and there was probably a misunderstanding between the two statesmen. At all events, Pitt told Fitzwilliam that not one of the existing officials was to be dismissed except for actual misconduct. With Pitt as, at the best, a hesitating ally, Fitzwilliam's mission was doomed to failure. Fitzwilliam himself hastened that failure He

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landed in Dublin on January 4, 1795, and, almost at once, in defiance of his instructions, dismissed two of the worst of the officials, one of whom, John Beresford, was popularly known as the king of Ireland from the unbounded influence which he had gained by jobbery. He and the Irish Chancellor, Fitzgibbon, complained to the king that his ministers, in favouring Catholic emancipation, were leading him to a breach of the oath which he had taken at his coronation to defend the Protestant religion, and the king gave Pitt to understand that he would never consent to such a measure. Pitt was, moreover, subjected to pressure from English opinion, where the Catholics were anything but popular, and where any proposal to reform Parliament savoured of the principles of the French Revolution. In these views Pitt to some extent shared, and began to look for the best remedy for Irish difficulties in the constitution of a common Parliament for the two countries, as there had been a common Parliament for England and Scotland since 1707 (see p. 685). Fitzwilliam, whose arrival in Dublin had been welcomed as a message of peace from England, was promptly recalled, and Ireland was once more handed over to a Parliament dominated by place-hunters who, under the pretence of maintaining Protestantism, banded themselves together with the object of gaining wealth and position. "Did I ever give an honest vote in my life?" is a sentence which is said to have escaped from the lips of a member of this faction.

4. **Impending Revolution. 1795—1796.**—Such an evil system was too provocative to remain long unassailed. In the Irish Parliament, Grattan spoke vehemently in favour of a Bill for Catholic emancipation, but the Bill was rejected. Lord Fitzwilliam's recall was followed by an outburst of violence. The Catholic gentry and middle classes were at that time quite ready to make common cause with the Protestants of their own standing in resistance to any popular movement; but the mass of Irish peasants had grievances of their own so bitter that it was difficult for a Parliament hostile to their race and creed to govern them. The payment of tithes, especially, weighed heavily on an impoverished population, and was the more deeply felt as the money went to the support of a clergy of a creed hostile to that of those from whom it was exacted. If the Catholic gentry had been allowed to sit in Parliament, they would at least have brought their influence to bear in favour of an amelioration of the lot of the Catholic peasant in this respect. With respect to another grievance, it is doubtful whether the introduction of Catholic landlords into Parliament

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would have had any salutary effect. The landlords themselves for the most part let their land at a low rent, but their tenants usually let it out again at a higher rent, and the sub-tenants again let it at a rent higher still, till in some places 6*l.* was charged as the rent of an acre of potato ground. In the lower classes the bitterness of religious animosity had never been extinguished and blazed up into fierce hatred. In the summer of 1795, when hope of obtaining fair treatment from Parliament was extinguished, outrages committed by Catholics upon Protestants became frequent. Angry Protestants, calling themselves Orangemen in memory of William III., retaliated, with all the strength of the Government behind them. Violence and illegality appeared on both sides. The United Irishmen took up the cause of the Catholics, and, early in 1796, sent Wolfe Tone to France, to urge the Directory to invade Ireland and to establish a republic.

5. **Bonaparte in Italy. 1796—1797.**—Before the end of 1796 France had reached a position of overwhelming strength on the Continent. At the beginning of that year her only serious enemies were England, Austria and Sardinia. In the spring, Bonaparte was sent to attack the Austrian and Sardinian armies in Italy. "You," he told his soldiers, "are ill-fed and naked. I will lead you into the most fertile places of the world, where you will find glory and riches." He defeated both Austrians and Sardinians, compelled the king of Sardinia to make peace, drove the Austrians out of Milan, and laid siege to Mantua their strongest fortress in Italy. Again and again Bonaparte, with marvellous skill, defeated Austrian armies attempting to save Mantua. It was not, indeed, till February 3, 1797, that Mantua, and with it the mastery of Italy, passed into his hands; but for some time before that its surrender had been a mere matter of time.

6. **Pitt's First Negotiation with the Directory. 1796.**—On October 22, 1796, a British ambassador, Lord Malmesbury, reached Paris to negotiate a peace. He asked that France should abandon the Austrian Netherlands, and should withdraw from Italy. As Pitt ought to have foreseen, if he did not actually foresee, the Directory repelled such overtures with scorn. Believing that they had England at their mercy, they struck at Ireland. On December 17, a great fleet carrying an army of 20,000 men sailed from Brest under the command of Hoche, one of the ablest of the French generals, who had set his heart on winning Ireland from the English. It was, however, dispersed at sea, and only some of its vessels reached Bantry Bay, out of which they were driven by a violent

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storm before a landing could be effected. The most satisfactory thing about this expedition, from the British point of view, was, that the Irish themselves had shown no signs of welcoming the invaders.

7. **Suspension of Cash Payments. 1797.**—Pitt was too exclusively an English minister to appreciate the real state of things either in Ireland or on the Continent. His treatment of Ireland was not such as to secure the internal peace of that country, and his treatment of France gave him neither peace nor victory. His main support lay in the extraordinary financial resources supplied by the rapidly increasing manufactures of England (see p. 814). Yet even on this ground he did not escape difficulties. In addition to the military and naval expenses incurred by his own country, he spent large sums upon its allies, and in the year **1796** sent no less than 4,000,000*l.* to Austria. Early in **1797** the Bank of England ran short of gold, and was authorised by the Government, and subsequently by Parliament, to suspend cash payments. For twenty-four years bank-notes passed from hand to hand, though those who took them knew that it would be a long time before the Bank would be again able to exchange them for gold.

8. **Battle of St. Vincent. 1797.**—Success in Italy emboldened France in **1797** to attempt a great naval attack on Great Britain. The Batavian Republic—by which title the Dutch Netherlands were now known—had since 1795 been a dependent ally of France, and since October 6, **1796**, France had been allied with Spain, which, as soon as the excitement caused by the horrors of the Revolution came to an end, was brought back to the French side, by alarm at the preponderance of England at sea. If the French and Spanish fleets could effect a junction, they would be able to bring an overwhelming force into the English Channel, whilst the Dutch fleet was to be employed to convey to Ireland an army of 14,000 men. To prevent this, Admiral Sir John Jervis, on February 16, attacked the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent. His ships were fewer and smaller than those of the Spaniards, but they were better equipped and better manned. Commodore[1] Nelson, disobeying orders, dashed with his own and one other ship into the midst of the enemy's fleet. Two other ships followed him after a while, but still the chances of war seemed to be against him. Yet he boarded and captured, first the 'San Nicolas' of 80 guns, and then the 'San Josef,' the flag-ship of the Spanish Admiral, of 112. As the swords of the Spanish officers who surrendered were too many for

[1] *i.e.* A captain having command of other ships besides his own.

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him to hold, he gave them to one of his bargemen, who coolly tucked them in a bundle under his arm. Jervis was made Earl St. Vincent for the victory; but he was so nettled at Nelson's disobedience, that he did not even mention his name in the despatch which was published in the 'Gazette.' Nearer home the main business of the British fleet was to prevent a junction between the French and the Dutch. Admiral Duncan was sent to blockade the Dutch in the Texel, whilst Lord Bridport, at the head of the fleet at Spithead, was expected to look after the French.

9. **Mutiny at Spithead.** 1797.—The plans of the Government were nearly upset by an unexpected mutiny in the fleet. The sailors were paid at a rate settled in the reign of Charles II., though the price of clothes and provisions had risen considerably. They were badly fed, and when they were sick or even wounded, their pay was stopped. Order was kept by constant flogging, often administered for slight offences. The sailors at Spithead finding, after petitioning the Admiralty for redress of grievances, that no notice was taken of their petition, refused to go to sea. On this the Lords of the Admiralty instructed Lord Howe to assure them that justice should be done. Howe was a favourite amongst them, and they agreed to return to their duty. A short while afterwards, suspecting the Admiralty of a design to break the promise given to them, they again broke out into mutiny; but subsequently abandoned their hostile attitude on discovering that the Admiralty had no intention of dealing unfairly with them.

10. **Mutiny at the Nore.** 1797.—A more serious mutiny broke out in the fleet stationed at the Nore to guard the mouth of the Thames, where the sailors asked not merely to have actual grievances redressed, but to vote on the movements of their own ships even in the presence of an enemy, and blockaded the mouth of the Thames to enforce their demands. The mutiny spread to Duncan's ships off the Texel, the greater number of which sailed to join the fleet at the Nore. At one time Duncan was left to blockade the Dutch with only one ship besides his own. With this one ship he kept the Dutch in port, by constantly running up flags to make them think that he was signalling to the rest of his fleet, which they imagined to be just out of sight. In the meanwhile, the Government at home got the better of the mutineers. Parker, the chief leader of the revolt, was hanged, with seventeen others, and the crews submitted to their officers and did good service afterwards.

11. **Pitt's second Negotiation with the Directory.** 1797.—Soon

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after the submission of the fleet at the Nore, Pitt made one more effort to obtain peace. Negotiations were held at Lille, but they broke down as completely as the negotiations in the preceding year. Austria had already signed preliminaries of peace with France at Leoben, and as Austria then engaged to abandon its possessions in the Netherlands, Pitt agreed to leave them under French dominion. He was also prepared to surrender some West Indian islands which British fleets had conquered from France, but he would not give up Trinidad, which they had taken from Spain, or the Cape of Good Hope, which they had taken from the Dutch. On his refusal the negotiations were broken off by the Directory. England had the mastery by sea, and France by land. On October 11 Duncan defeated the Dutch fleet off Camperdown, on the coast of Holland, thus putting an end to the projected invasion of Ireland (see p. 835); and on October 18 Bonaparte signed peace with Austria at Campo-Formio. The Austrian Netherlands were abandoned to France, whilst the Austrian territories in North Italy were made part of a republic called the Cisalpine Republic, and practically dependent on France. To compensate Austria—as the phrase went—the old Venetian Republic was suppressed, and the greater part of its territory given over to Austria, whilst the remainder went to the Cisalpine Republic. In the partition of Poland, the old governments had set the example of despoiling the weak, and Bonaparte did but carry out their principles.

12. **Bonaparte's Expedition to Egypt. 1798.**—When Bonaparte returned to France the Directory urged him to conquer England, but he preferred to go to Egypt. His vast abilities seldom failed him when he was called on to do what was possible to be done, but there was in him a romantic vein which constantly beguiled him into attempting impossible achievements. He hoped by the conquest of Egypt to found an empire in the East, from which he could hold out a hand to the native rulers of India who were struggling against British authority. Foremost amongst these rulers was Tippoo, the son of Hyder Ali (see p. 805), who had inherited his father's throne without his father's military abilities. Tippoo had in 1792 been defeated by Cornwallis and stripped of half his territory, but he was now burning to revenge the disaster, and hoped that Bonaparte would assist him to do so. On May 19 Bonaparte with a large fleet and army sailed from Toulon, seizing Malta on his way from the Knights of St. John. On his arrival in Egypt he marched against the Mamelukes—a splendid body of cavalry, the Beys or chiefs of which ruled the country under

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the nominal supremacy of the Sultan—defeated them at the Battle of the Pyramids, and made himself master of the land.

13. **The Battle of the Nile. 1798.**—On August 1, Nelson—now an admiral—found the French fleet which had conveyed Bonaparte anchored in Aboukir Bay. Instead of following the old fashion of fighting in which the hostile fleets engaged one another in parallel lines; he improved upon the example of breaking the line set by Rodney in **1782**. Sending half his fleet through the middle of the enemy's line, he made it take up a position between half of the French ships and the shore, whilst the other half of his own ships placed themselves outside the same part of the enemy's line. He thus crushed part of the enemy's fleet by placing it between two fires before the other part had time to weigh anchor and to come up. The battle raged far into the night. Nelson himself was wounded, and carried below. A surgeon ran up to attend on him. "No," he said, "I will take my turn with my brave fellows." Before long he heard a cry that the French Admiral's ship was on fire. Hurrying on deck, he gave orders to send boats to help the French who threw themselves into the sea to escape the flames. The Battle of the Nile ended in a complete British victory, which, by cutting off Bonaparte's army from France, threw insuperable difficulties in the way of his scheme for the establishment of a French empire in the East.

14. **Bonaparte in Syria. 1799.**—Bonaparte, however, refused to abandon the hopes which he had formed. On January 26 he wrote to Tippoo announcing his preparations to relieve him. In the spring of **1799**, Lord Mornington, the Governor-General of India, sent an army under Harris against Tippoo, and on May 4 Tippoo's capital, Seringapatam, was stormed and himself slain. Bonaparte was too far off to attempt a rescue. In February, learning that a Turkish army was coming against him through Syria, he set out to meet it. For a while he was victorious, but he was baffled by the desperate resistance of the Turkish garrison of Acre, which had been encouraged in its defence by an English Commodore, Sir Sidney Smith. On April 11, Bonaparte abandoned the siege of Acre and withdrew to Egypt. There he held his own, but Sir Sidney Smith sent him a file of newspapers to inform him of the events which had been passing in Europe during his absence. So startling was the news, that on August 22 Bonaparte sailed for France, leaving his army in Egypt to its fate.

15. **Foundation of the Consulate. 1799—1800.**—What Bonaparte learned from the newspapers was that a new coalition had been formed against France, this time between England, Austria and

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Russia. The French armies in Germany had been driven across the Rhine, and those in Italy had been beaten in two great battles, one on the Trebbia and the other at Novi, and had been driven across the Alps. When Bonaparte landed in France, he was prepared to turn the disasters of his country to his own advantage. Though a French General, Massena, had defeated the Austrians

Head-dress of a lady (Mrs. Abington), about 1778 : from the *European Magazine*.

at Zürich in September, Bonaparte represented the policy of the Directory in the worst colours, accused them of ruining France, and in November made himself master of the country by military violence, on the plea that it was necessary to revise the Constitution. In 1800 he was named First Consul, under which title he exercised absolute authority, though he was still nominally only the first magistrate of the Republic.

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16. **An Overture for Peace. 1799.**—One of Bonaparte's first acts after thrusting the Directory from power was to offer peace to England, but his offer was repelled with scorn. Lord Grenville, the Foreign Secretary, in his reply, even went so far as to suggest that the best security which the French could give for peace was the recalling of the Bourbons to the throne. Yet, whatever the Government might say, the country longed for peace. In **1798** Pitt had added to its burdens an income-tax of 10 per cent., and if the war was to go on till the Bourbons were recalled, the prospect before the nation was indeed dreary.

17. **The Campaign of Marengo and the Peace of Lunéville. 1800—1801.**—At the end of **1799** Pitt cherished the hope that the recent successes of the coalition against France would be continued. In **1800** this hope was dashed to the ground. The Coalition itself broke up. The Tzar Paul, who was half mad, was an enthusiastic admirer of Bonaparte, and when he learnt that Bonaparte was in power withdrew from his alliance with Austria. Bonaparte crossed the Alps, crushed an Austrian army at Marengo in Piedmont, and later in the same year another French General, Moreau, crushed another Austrian army at Hohenlinden in Bavaria. On February 9, **1801**, a peace in which the Rhine was formally acknowledged to be the boundary of France was signed at Lunéville. The cry for peace increased in England. The harvest of **1800** was a bad one, and in that year and in the following spring the price of corn rose till it reached 156*s.* a quarter. If peace was to be had, Pitt was hardly the man to negotiate it, as he was regarded in France as the most violent enemy of that country, where every evil from which it suffered was popularly attributed to 'the gold of Pitt.' It happened, however, that before any fresh negotiation was opened, Pitt resigned office from causes entirely disconnected with the affairs of the Continent.

18. **The Irish Rebellion. 1798.**—Hoche's failure in **1797** (see p. 834) had not been followed by any abatement of violence in Ireland. The so-called Protestant militia and yeomanry, under pretence of repressing insurrection and outrage, themselves committed outrages with impunity, and the regular soldiers even learnt to follow their evil example. In order to procure the delivery of concealed arms, suspected persons were flogged and their houses burnt to the ground. Amongst those who were concerned in these savage actions, Fitzgerald, the Sheriff of Tipperary—'Flogging Fitzgerald,' as he was usually called—obtained an unenviable notoriety. He indeed suppressed by his energy the organisation of

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those who were preparing to welcome a fresh invasion by the French, but his energy often showed itself in the form of brutal outrage. On one occasion, for instance, he almost flogged to death a teacher of languages because he found in his possession a note in the French language which he was himself unable to read, but which he took as evidence of complicity with the French Government. Sir Ralph Abercromby, the commander-in-chief in Ireland, was in 1798 driven by the clamour of the officials to resign his office because he remonstrated against this rule of license as injurious to the discipline of the army. The Catholics subject to outrage joined the society of United Irishmen in thousands, and the United Irishmen at once made preparations for an insurrection. The secret was betrayed to the Government and the leaders arrested. Nevertheless on May 21 bands of peasants armed with pikes rose in insurrection, principally in Wexford, and in many places committed horrible atrocities. These atrocities, being usually committed against Protestants, alienated the Presbyterians of the North, who from that time began to take part with the Government. At one time it was feared that even Dublin would fall into the hands of the insurgents, but they were defeated at Vinegar Hill near Wexford by the regular troops under General Lake. In August, a French force of 1100 landed in Killala Bay. The first troops sent against them met them at Castlebar, but ran away so fast that the affair is known as the race of Castlebar. The French were, however, too few to make a long resistance, and on September 9 they surrendered, thus bringing to an end all chance of successful resistance to English authority in Ireland.

19. **An Irish Reign of Terror. 1798—1799.**—Before the defeat of the French, Lord Cornwallis arrived as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was a just man, and was deeply moved by the violence of those who styled themselves loyalists. Magistrates and soldiers vied with one another in acts of cruelty. The practice of torturing prisoners to extort confessions was common, and Lord Cornwallis, who did his best to stop these atrocious proceedings, was exasperated by the light way in which they were regarded in his own presence. "The conversation of the principal persons of the country," he wrote, "all tends to encourage this system of blood, and the conversation, even at my table, where you may suppose I do all I can to prevent it, always turns on hanging, shooting, burning, &c., and if a priest has been put to death, the greatest joy is expressed by the whole company." In 1799 the Irish Parliament passed an Act of indemnity securing against punishment all persons

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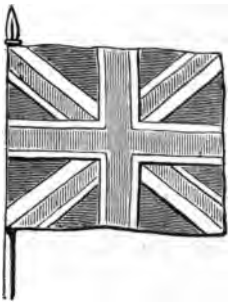
who had used illegal violence which could in any way be connected with the suppression of the rebellion.

20. **The Irish Union. 1800.**—The Irish Parliament could hardly be left as it was. In 1795 it might have been possible to reform it; in 1799, when the country was torn asunder by bitter hatred, when Protestants had used Parliamentary forms to wreak vengeance on Catholics, and when Catholics, if they were allowed to form the majority in it, would use them to wreak vengeance on Protestants, it was no longer possible. The easy way of putting an end to the difficulty by uniting the British and Irish Parliaments more and more commended itself to Pitt. The majority in the Irish Parliament was venal, and Pitt, through the medium of a young Irish official, Lord Castlereagh, secured a majority in it, not indeed by paying money directly for votes, but by agreeing to compensate the owners of boroughs at the rate of 15,000*l.* a seat,[1] and by granting peerages and lavishly dispensing patronage as a reward for Parliamentary support. Grattan came forth from the retirement in which he had remained during the late times of trouble, and denounced the Union; but the Act of Union received the assent of the Parliament at Dublin as well as of the Parliament at Westminster, and after January 1, 1801, there was but one Parliament for the two countries.



The Union Jack, in use since 1801.

21. **Pitt's Resignation. 1801.**—Pitt no doubt had the most generous intentions. He imagined that the United Parliament would judge fairly and justly between the two hostile Irish parties, and he wished it to win over the sympathies of Irish Catholics, by offering a State maintenance to their priests, by improving the existing system of the payment of tithes, and, above all, by admitting Catholics to office and to seats in Parliament. Having little doubt that he would be able to accomplish this, he had allowed it to be understood in Ireland that he would support a measure of Catholic emancipation. He soon, however, found that the king would not hear of this proposal, and behind the king was the British nation. On this, he resigned office, and indeed he could hardly do less. Pitt, however, though he was himself out of office, offered his

[1] This was, however, paid whether the owner's nominee voted for the government or not.

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assistance in the formation of a ministry hostile to the Catholic claims, over which his influence might be felt, and he probably expected at the time that this arrangement would be of long continuance.

22. **The Addington Ministry.** 1801.—At the head of the new ministry was Addington, who had been Speaker of the House of Commons, a well-meaning, inefficient man, strongly hostile to Catholic emancipation, and warmly attached to Pitt. Before Addington could settle himself in office, the king's mind, shaken

William Pitt: from the bust by Nollekens in the National Portrait Gallery.

by the excitement of recent events, once more gave way. This time, however, the attack was of short duration, and, as soon as recovery was complete, Pitt assured him that he would never again propose Catholic emancipation during his reign. There are reasons for supposing that Pitt would at this time willingly have returned to office, but the king had already engaged himself to the new Ministers, and Addington had to try his hand at governing the country.

23. **Malta and Egypt.** 1800.—As far as the war was concerned

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the arrangements made by Pitt before his resignation were crowned with success. After a long siege, Malta surrendered in **1800**, and on March 8, **1801**, an expedition under Sir Ralph Abercromby landed in Egypt to drive out the French army which had been left there by Bonaparte. Abercromby was killed, but his troops, after a series of successful operations, finally reduced Alexandria to surrender on August 30, when it was agreed that the whole of the French army should evacuate Egypt. The Egyptian campaign was memorable, as showing, for the first time since the French Revolution, that British soldiers were still capable of defeating the French.

Royal Arms as borne from 1714 to 1801.

24. **The Northern Confederacy and the Battle of Copenhagen. 1801.**—In the North the British Government was no less successful. A Northern Confederacy had been formed between Russia, Sweden and Denmark which, though it did not declare itself directly hostile to England, was intended to resist, as in the days of

Royal arms as borne from 1801 to 1816: the Hanoverian scutcheon surmounted by an electoral bonnet.

Royal arms from 1816 to 1837: the Hanoverian scutcheon surmounted by a royal crown.

the American War, the pretensions of British ships to search neutral vessels in order to take out of them French goods (see p. 792). The Government sent a fleet to break up the confederacy, but

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appointed Nelson only second in command under Sir Hyde Parker, who was of no note as a sailor. Parker sent Nelson to attack Copenhagen. On April 2, Nelson opened fire upon the heavy batteries which defended the city. After the battle had raged for some time, Parker, believing Nelson to be in danger of defeat, hoisted a signal ordering him to draw off. Nelson, who some years before had lost the sight of an eye in action, put his telescope to his blind eye, and, declaring that he could not see the signal of recall, kept his own signal for close action flying. In the end the Danish batteries were silenced. Nelson sent ashore the wounded

Greathead's lifeboat, 1803: from the *European Magazine*.

Danes, and when he landed was received with shouts by the people in appreciation of his kindness to the sufferers. Nelson assured the Crown Prince, who acted as Regent in his father's place, that he wished to treat the Danes as the brothers of the English, and an armistice was concluded. Not long afterwards, the war in the North came to an end through the murder of the Tzar Paul. His son and successor, Alexander I., made on June 17 a treaty with England, in which he and his allies abandoned their claim that the neutral flag should protect enemies' goods, thus admitting the right of search claimed by the British Government.

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25. **The Treaty of Amiens. 1802.**—Negotiations with France were in the meanwhile pushed rapidly forward. Preliminaries of peace were signed in London on October 1, **1801**, and a definitive treaty at Amiens on March 28, **1802**. Great Britain abandoned all her conquests beyond the seas except Ceylon and Trinidad, and agreed to restore Malta to the Knights, if its possession by them were guaranteed by the great powers. 'It was a peace which,' as Sheridan, the wit of the Opposition, declared, 'everybody would be glad of, but which nobody would be proud of.' The broad fact of the situation was that France was strong enough to retain her conquests in Europe; and that the enthusiasm which would alone enable those who had suffered from her aggression to wrest

The old East India House in 1803.

her gains from her was entirely lacking both in England and on the Continent. Pitt may have been right in holding that England ought not to allow France to possess herself of the Netherlands; but he had totally failed in preventing her from doing it, and in **1802** there did not appear to be the remotest chance that he or any other minister would succeed better in the future. In Parliament and out of Parliament the peace was welcomed with joy. George III., when the preliminaries of peace were signed in **1801**, had taken the opportunity to abandon the empty title of king of France, which had been borne by his predecessors since the time of Edward III., and to omit the French lilies from the royal arms (see p. 844).

26. **Rupture of the Treaty of Amiens. 1803.**—The Treaty of Amiens had scarcely been signed before the English Ministers began

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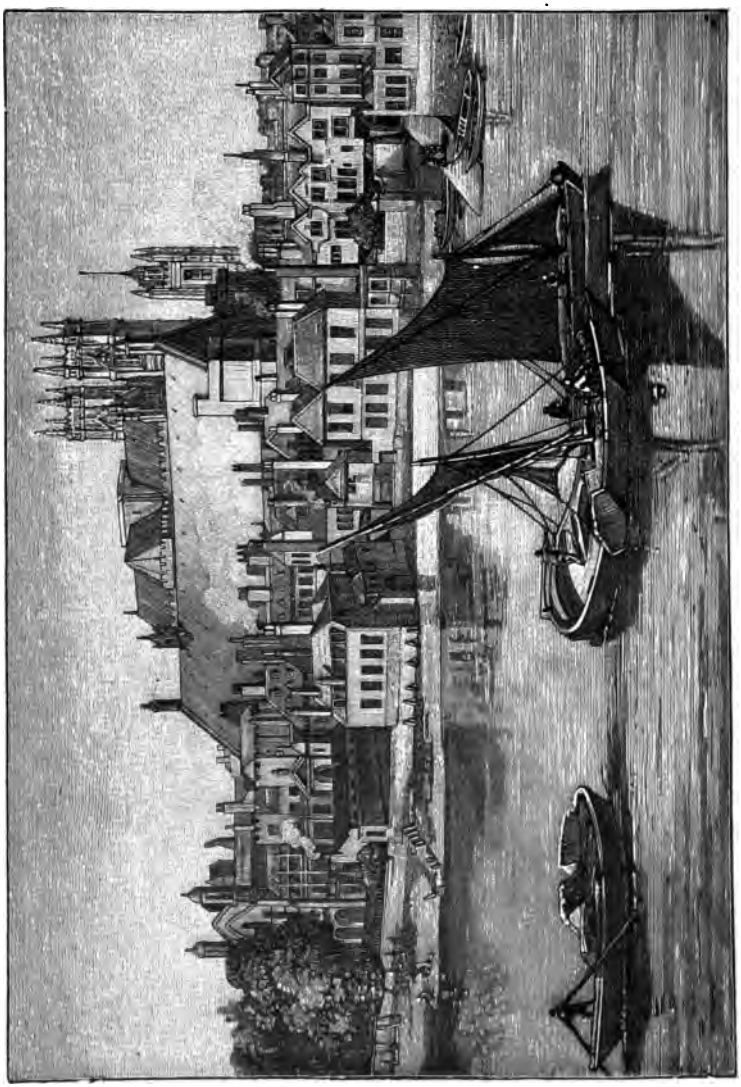

The old Houses of Parliament and Westminster Abbey, 1803.

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to fear that Bonaparte was about to employ the time of peace merely to strengthen himself for further attacks upon their own and other countries. He annexed Piedmont and occupied Switzerland. It is probable, however, that these things would have been passed over in England, if the Ministry had not conceived suspicions that he intended to re-occupy Egypt. They therefore refused to give up Malta to the Knights as they were bound by the treaty to do, first on the ground that no guarantee of its independence could be obtained from the great Powers (see p. 846), and then on the ground that, whatever they might be bound to by treaty, they needed Malta as a security against the danger of a French conquest of Egypt. Bonaparte claimed the execution of the treaty, and on one occasion used most violent language to Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador. He was himself irritated, not merely on the subject of Malta, but because the English Ministers refused to suppress without trial the virulent attacks on himself which were published by the French refugees in England. One of these, named Peltier, was indeed convicted of libel by a jury, but he escaped punishment because France and England were again at war before judgment was pronounced against him. As no compromise about Malta acceptable to both sides could be found, war was recommenced before the end of May 1803.

27. **The last Months of the Addington Ministry. 1803—1804.** On the outbreak of hostilities, Bonaparte gave reasonable offence to the British nation by throwing into prison about 10,000 British travellers, though it had always been the custom to give time to such persons to leave the country after a declaration of war. As he had no other war on his hands than that with Great Britain, he seized Hanover and assembled a large army at Boulogne to invade England. At once a volunteer army stepped forward to aid the regular army in the defence of the country. From one end of the country to the other some 300,000 volunteers of all classes were busily drilling. Public opinion soon demanded a stronger ministry than the existing one. On May 10, 1804, Addington resigned. General opinion called for Pitt as Prime Minister at the head of a ministry taken from both parties, so that all disposable talent might be employed in the defence of the nation. The King insisted that Pitt should promise never to support Catholic Emancipation, and should exclude Fox from the new ministry. Fox at once consented to be passed over, but Lord Grenville refused to join if Fox was excluded. "I will teach that proud man," said Pitt, "that I can do without him," and on May 18 Pitt again became Prime Minister, though with but a poor staff of ministers to support him.

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CHAPTER LIII

THE ASCENDENCY OF NAPOLEON. 1804—1807

LEADING DATES

Reign of George III., 1760–1820

Pitt's Second Prime Ministership Napoleon declared Emperor of the French	May 18, 1804
Battle of Trafalgar	Oct. 21, 1805
Battle of Austerlitz	Dec. 2, 1805
Death of Pitt	Jan. 23, 1806
Death of Fox	Sept. 13, 1806
Battle of Jena	Oct. 14, 1806
The Berlin Decree	Nov. 21, 1806
Treaty of Tilsit	July 7, 1807
Orders in Council	Nov. 11, 1807
The Milan Decree	Dec. 17, 1807

1. **The Napoleonic Empire.** 1804.—There was scarcely an Englishman living in 1804 who did not regard Napoleon as a wicked and unprincipled villain whom it was the duty of every honest man to resist to the death. This conception of his character was certainly not without foundation. He had no notion of allowing moral scruples to interfere with his designs, and whenever his personal interests were concerned he knew no rule except that of his own will. Having nearly been the victim of an attempt at assassination by a party of Royalists, he avenged himself by kidnapping the Duke of Enghien on the neutral territory of Baden and having him shot, simply because he was a kinsman of the Bourbon Princes, the brothers of the late King. In his dealings with foreign states he took whatever seemed good to him to take, and his seizure of Piedmont was but the forerunner of other annexations. Yet, regardless of morality as he was, Napoleon was not more regardless of it than the statesmen who had partitioned Poland, and he had at least an intellectual preference for good government. He gave to France an excellent administration, and also gave his sanction to the code of law drawn up by the jurists of the Republic, which was now to be known as the Code Napoleon. He also took care that there should be good justice in his courts between man and man. Hence, exasperating as his annexations were to the great sovereigns of Europe, they were not popular grievances. A country annexed to France, or even merely brought, as most of the German

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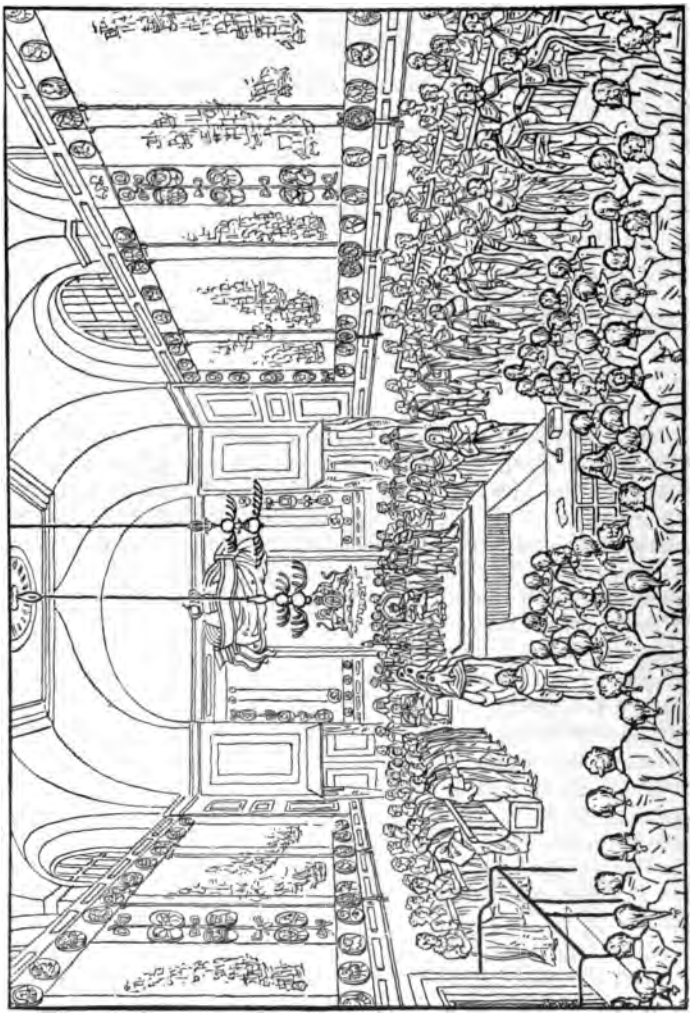
states now were, under the influence of France, found its gain in being better governed. On May 18 Napoleon was declared here-



The King in the House of Lords, 1804: from *Modern London*.

ditary Emperor of the French. His power was neither more nor less absolute than it had been before.

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2. **A Threatened Invasion. 1804—1805.**—Neither the French Revolution nor the French Empire was to be resisted by governments acting without a popular force behind them; and in **1804** it was only in England that the government had a popular force behind it, and could therefore oppose to Napoleon a national resistance. Every day that saw a French army encamped at Boulogne strengthened that resistance. Napoleon was, indeed, so certain of success that he ordered the preparation of a medal falsely stating itself to have been struck in London, as if the conquest of England had been already effected. Strong as Pitt became in the country, he was weak in Parliament. Before the end of 1804 he was reconciled to Addington, who entered the ministry as Viscount Sidmouth. On April 6 a vote was carried which led to the impeachment, on a charge of peculation, of his old friend

Napoleon's medal struck to commemorate the invasion of England: from a cast in the British Museum.

Henry Dundas, now Lord Melville and First Lord of the Admiralty. Ultimately Melville was acquitted, and there is no reason to think that he was guilty of more than neglect of the forms needed for guarding against embezzlement; but Melville's necessary resignation was a sad blow to Pitt.

3. **The Trafalgar Campaign. 1805.**—Napoleon's plan for the invasion of England was most skilful. He was aware that boats laden with troops could not cross the Channel unless their passage could be guarded against British ships of war, but as the king of Spain was now on his side against England, he had three fleets at his disposal, two French ones at Toulon and Brest, and a Spanish one at Cadiz. He thought that, though not one of these was separately a match for a British fleet, yet that the three combined would at least be strong enough to hold the Channel

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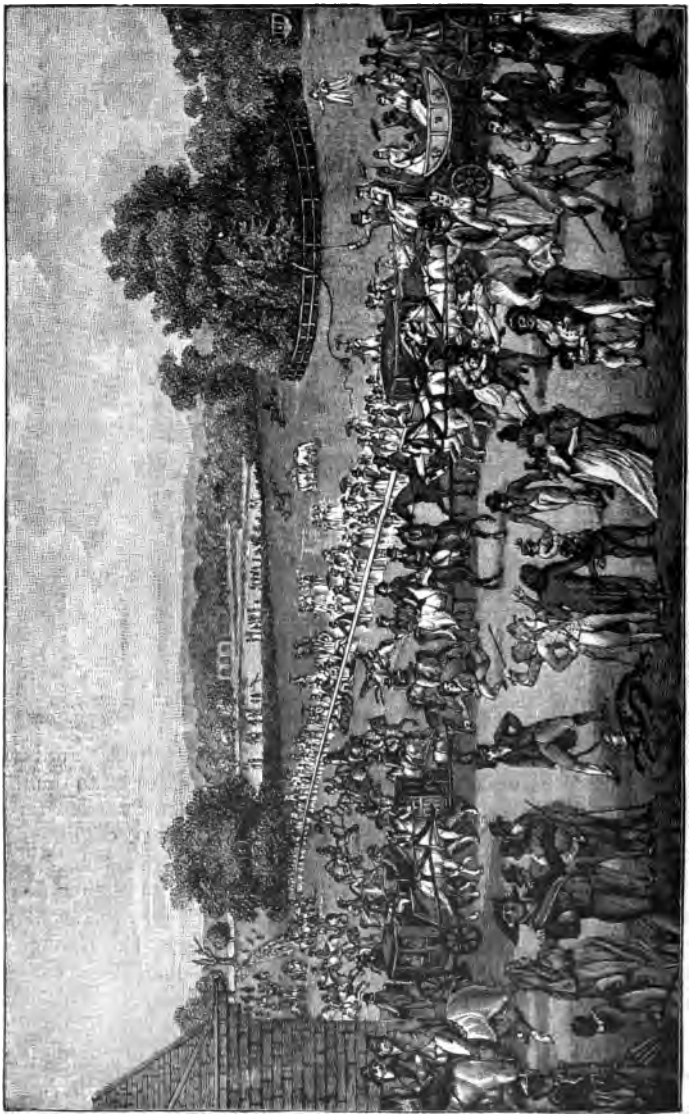

Hyde Park on Sunday, A.D. 1804: from *Modern London*

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did not recover the blow. "How I leave my country!" were the last words spoken by him. On January 23, 1806, he died. In modern times he is chiefly respected as the enlightened financier and statesman of the years of peace. His resistance to France, it is thought, was weakly planned, and his management of the war disastrous. In his own time he was regarded as 'The Pilot that weathered the storm.' If he failed in his military efforts against France on the Continent, where he had but governments to oppose to a nation, he made England safe by the impulse which he gave to her power at sea. "England," he once said in replying to a toast at the Guildhall, "has saved herself by her exertions, and will save Europe by her example." Such words forms Pitt's best epitaph. He showed what could be done by a nation conscious of its strength, and resolute not to bow to the dictates of a despotic conqueror.

7. **The Ministry of All the Talents. 1806.**—Pitt's death left the king no choice but to take Fox as a minister. A ministry known as the Ministry of All the Talents was formed out of various parties. Lord Grenville, who had been Foreign Secretary at the end of Pitt's first ministry, became Prime Minister, bringing with him an air of respectability of which the Whigs were in want, whilst Fox was Foreign Secretary, and a place was even found for Sidmouth, the leader of the stiffest Tories. Fox did his best to bring the war to an end by opening a negotiation with France, taking advantage of the confession of a man, in all probability an agent of Napoleon himself, that he intended to murder the Emperor of the French. Fox, however, soon discovered that Napoleon was too slippery to be bound by treaties. At one time the French Emperor offered to restore Hanover to the King of England, and at another time he drew back and offered it to Prussia. Even Fox became convinced that a continuance of the war was unavoidable. He was himself suffering from dropsy, and had not many weeks to live; but, though unable to give peace to his country, he had time to signalise the close of his career by moving a resolution for the abolition of the slave trade (see p. 823), as far as British ships and colonies were concerned. Fox died on September 13; and though the slave trade was not abolished by law till after his death, he lived to know that all real difficulties had been surmounted. Whether, if he had held office for a longer term, he would have been distinguished amongst practical statesmen, it is difficult to say. It is true that he was not an originator of new schemes of policy; but a minister may be none the worse for that, if he has the tact and skill to secure the acceptance of the schemes of others. Fox's main defect was his want of power

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thirty. Not finding them there, he sailed back in pursuit. They, however, reached the Bay of Biscay before him, and were there attacked by Sir Robert Calder, who happened to meet them with fifteen British ships. Two Spanish ships were taken, and the rest of the fleet was so terrified that it betook itself to Cadiz.

4. **The Battle of Trafalgar. 1805.**—England was saved from invasion, but it was Napoleon's pride which completed her triumph. Though the French sailors had been too long blockaded in various ports to be efficient seamen, he insisted on his admiral's putting again to sea. With a heavy heart the admiral obeyed orders, and on October 21 Nelson fell in with him off Cape Trafalgar. Nelson gave the signal of "England expects every man to do his duty." In the battle which followed, the French and Spanish fleets were almost entirely destroyed, but Nelson fell mortally wounded by a shot from a French ship. Never again during the war did a French or Spanish fleet venture to put out from harbour, or had a British navy to contend for the mastery over the sea. Yet, so deeply was Nelson honoured in England, that when the news of the triumph arrived, it was doubtful whether joy for the victory or sorrow for the loss was the greater.

5. **The Campaign of Austerlitz. 1805.**—In 1805 there was strife on land as well as at sea. In April the foundations of a third coalition against France were laid by an alliance between England and Russia. Napoleon defied it by annexing Genoa to France, and by converting the old Cisalpine Republic, which had been named the Italian Republic in 1802, into a kingdom of Italy of which he was himself the king. Austria joined the coalition, and in August Napoleon, knowing that by Calder's victory his scheme for the invasion of England had failed, marched his army off from Boulogne to attack Austria and Russia. His enemies had no time to combine against him. An advanced force of Austrians about 40,000 strong was at Ulm on the Upper Danube. The main Austrian army was still around Vienna, whilst the Russian army was slowly advancing to its aid. On October 14 Napoleon compelled the Austrians at Ulm to capitulate. On November 11 he entered Vienna, the Austrian army having retreated to join the Russian. On December 2 he signally defeated the two armies at Austerlitz. The Russians fell back on their own country. On December 6 the Emperor Francis signed the Treaty of Pressburg, abandoning Venetia to the new kingdom of Italy, and Tyrol to Bavaria.

6. **Pitt's Death. 1806.**—Pitt, worn out with work and anxiety,

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to forecast the temper with which his words and acts would be received, and he thus frequently, as in the cases of the coalition with Lord North (see p. 800) and of the Regency Bill (see p. 811), made himself unpopular, much to his own surprise. The generous warmth of his disposition, and his hopeful sympathy with all good and great causes, give him a high place amongst British statesmen.

8. **The Overthrow of Prussia. 1806.**—The spring and summer of **1806** had been spent by Napoleon in remodelling Germany. He united the middle-sized states of the south into a confederation of

Fox: from his bust by Nollekens in the National Portrait Gallery.

the Rhine, practically under his own authority, to support France against Austria and Prussia. On August 6 Francis II. abandoned for ever the futile title of Roman Emperor which had come down to him from the Cæsars, and was thenceforward known by the new title of Emperor of Austria which he had given himself in **1804**. Napoleon placed his brother Joseph on the throne of Naples, and though a British force landed in the Neapolitan dominions and defeated the French invaders at Maida, it could not save the mainland, and the English Government had to content itself with keeping Sicily

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for the Spanish Bourbon, Ferdinand I., who still called himself King of the Two Sicilies. Somewhat later Napoleon made another of his brothers—Louis—king of Holland. Neither in Italy nor in the smaller states of Germany was there any feeling of offended nationality goading on the populations to resist changes which brought with them more active government and better administration. Prussia, however, still maintained her independence, and when, after offering to her Hanover, Napoleon, in the course of his negotiation with Fox, turned round and offered to restore it to the King of England, the long patience of the King of Prussia, Frederick William III., was exhausted. War between Prussia and France was declared; but the Prussian State and army were both completely inefficient, and on October 14 two Prussian armies were not merely beaten, but absolutely destroyed as military organisations, at Jena and Auerstadt. The Prussian State crumbled away, and before the end of November Napoleon was in military possession of the greater part of Prussia.

9. **The End of the Ministry of All the Talents. 1807.**—Russia came to the aid of the now diminished Prussia. On February 8, **1807**, a drawn battle was fought at Eylau. The Tzar Alexander I. anxiously looked to England for aid, thinking that if an English army were landed on the coast of the Baltic, Napoleon would be obliged to detach part of his forces to watch it, and would thereby be weakened in his struggle with Russia. The Ministry of All the Talents, however, had no capacity for war. They frittered away their strength by sending useless expeditions to the Dardanelles, to Egypt, and to Buenos Ayres, leaving themselves no troops for the decisive struggle nearer home. On March 24 they were expelled from office by the king, because, though they agreed to relinquish a project which they had formed for allowing Catholics to serve as officers in the army and navy, they refused to promise that they would never under any circumstances propose any measure of concession to the Catholics. On March 25, the day after their resignation, the royal assent was given to a bill for the abolition of the slave trade. The new Prime Minister was the inefficient Duke of Portland, who had been the nominal head of the Coalition Ministry in **1783** (see p. 801). The ablest members of the new Cabinet were Lord Castlereagh, who had managed the Irish Parliament at the time of the Union, and the brilliant George Canning, who had been one of the staunchest of the followers of Pitt. The remainder of Portland's colleagues were narrow in their views, and all were pledged to resist Catholic emancipation. A dissolution of Parlia-

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ment took place before long, and it was found that the constituencies supported the king and the new ministry. The reaction against the principles of the French revolutionists was still so strong that it was difficult to obtain a hearing even for the most necessary plan of reform.

10. **The Treaty of Tilsit. 1807.**—Canning, who was Foreign Secretary, would readily have sent to the Baltic the forces which his predecessor had refused to the Tzar. Before, however, they could be got ready, Napoleon defeated the Russians at Friedland on June 14, and on the 25th he held an interview with the Tzar on a raft on the Niemen. Alexander was vexed at the delay of the English, and the first words he uttered to Napoleon were, "I hate the English as much as you do." The Treaty of Tilsit, signed between France and Russia on July 7, was the result of the conference. By a secret understanding, Russia was allowed to conquer Finland from Sweden, and as much of the Turkish dominions as she could get, whilst all Europe west of the Russian border was delivered over to Napoleon. He erected a new kingdom of Westphalia for his youngest brother, Jerome, and gave a great part of Poland, under the name of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, to the Elector of Saxony, whom he had recently converted into a king. The confederation of the Rhine was extended to include all the German states except Austria and Prussia. The weight of Napoleon's vengeance fell heavily on Prussia. Not only was her territory much reduced, but she was forced to support French garrisons in her fortresses, and was compelled to pay enormous sums of money to France, and to limit her army to 42,000 men. Hitherto the people of defeated states had been, on the whole, better off in consequence of their defeat. The Prussians were far worse off, and, therefore, the treatment of Prussia by Napoleon for the first time brought against him popular ill-will.

11. **The Colonies. 1804—1807.**—Whilst Napoleon was establishing a dominion over the western and central part of the European Continent, Great Britain made use of her dominion of the sea to enlarge her colonial possessions. No one at that time thought much of the establishment in 1788 of a settlement of convicts in Botany Bay, or what afterwards came to be known as New South Wales. The two points at which British ambition aimed were the security of the sea route to India and the extension of the production of sugar in the West Indies. The first design was satisfied in 1806, by a second and permanent occupation of the Dutch territory at the Cape of Good Hope; the second, in 1804, by the taking from the Dutch of the territory on the mainland of South America,

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afterwards known as British Guiana, and by the capture of West India Islands which had hitherto been held by the French and Dutch.

12. **The Overthrow of the Mahrattas. 1802—1806.**—Since the destruction of Tippoo Sahib in **1799**, Lord Mornington (see p. 838), recently created Marquis Wellesley, had discovered that Sindhia, one of the Mahratta chiefs, had a large force organised by a Frenchman, Perron. He therefore attempted to introduce a subsidiary system, compelling native rulers to pay the expenses of troops under British officers which could be used against them if they were not submissive. In **1802**, the Peishwah having been driven from Poonah by Holkar (see p. 802), Wellesley entered into a compact to restore him on condition of his agreeing to a subsidiary treaty. Two other great Mahratta chiefs, Sindhia and the Bhonsla, who was Rajah of Berar, joined Holkar against the English, and in **1803** Wellesley sent against the confederacy his brother Arthur Wellesley. On September 23, **1803**, Arthur Wellesley at the head of 4,500 men defeated Sindhia's 30,000 at Assaye, whilst Lake defeated Perron's force on August 29 at Alighur, and after various successes crushed Sindhia himself on November 1, in a hard-contested battle at Laswaree. On November 29 Wellesley again defeated the united forces of Sindhia and the Bhonsla at Argaum. On this, both chiefs made their submission, ceding territory to the English, and to the allies of the English, the Nizam, and Shah Alum, who held nominal rule at Delhi as the Great Mogul. Holkar, who was again joined by Sindhia, held out till January **1806**, at one time gaining no inconsiderable successes, though all three, Sindhia, Holkar, and the Bhonsla, were in the end compelled to submit.

13. **Wellesley's Recall. 1805.**—In **1805**, before Holkar had submitted, Lord Wellesley was recalled. His wars had been expensive, and the East India Company never liked expense. No one now doubts that Wellesley was right. The Mahratta chiefs were freebooters on a large scale, and freebooting was incompatible with the peace and civilisation which it was the glory of British statesmen to introduce into India. Wellesley, when he landed in **1798**, found the British occupying certain portions of India. When he left the country in **1805**, almost the whole of the South had passed under British administration, what are now the North-Western Provinces had been annexed, and the military predominance of the Mahrattas had been brought to an end.

14. **The Continental System. 1806—1807.**—In the meanwhile Napoleon, hopeless of overpowering Britain at sea, attempted to

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subjugate her in another way. On November 21, **1806**, soon after his victory at Jena, he issued the Berlin Decree, closing all European ports under his influence—that is to say, almost all the ports from the Vistula to the Adriatic—against British commerce. All British ports were declared in a state of blockade, though Napoleon could not watch any one of them with a single vessel, and all goods coming from Great Britain or her colonies were to be destroyed. On November 11, **1807**, Great Britain retaliated by Orders in Council declaring all ports of France and her allies to be in a state of blockade, and all vessels good prize which attempted to enter them unless they had previously touched at a British harbour. To this, on December 17, **1807**, Napoleon replied by the Milan Decree, declaring all neutral vessels liable to seizure if they touched at any British ports before attempting to land their cargoes in any part of Europe under the control of France. The Berlin and Milan Decrees together established what is known as Napoleon's Continental System.

15. **Effects of the Continental System. 1807.**—Ultimately the effects of the Continental System were most injurious to Napoleon. As the British fleet controlled the sea, no colonial goods could be obtained except through British vessels. A gigantic system of smuggling sprang up, and the seizure and destruction of British goods only served to raise the price of those which escaped. Sugar, coffee, and calico grew dear, and the labourer soon discovered that, in consequence of the Continental System, he had to pay more for the coffee which he drank and for the shirt which he wore. A strong feeling opposed to Napoleon manifested itself for the first time amongst the conquered populations.

16. **The Bombardment of Copenhagen. 1807.**—At sea Englishmen were almost as high-handed as Napoleon by land. They searched neutral vessels for goods destined for France, confiscating them in accordance with decisions of their own admiralty court in a fashion which would not be tolerated now. Shortly after the Treaty of Tilsit Canning learnt that Napoleon meant to seize the fleet of Denmark, which was at that time neutral, and to employ it against Great Britain. A British fleet and army were sent to Copenhagen, and the Crown Prince of Denmark (see p. 845) was asked to deliver up the Danish fleet on a promise that it should be restored at the end of the war. On his refusal, Copenhagen was bombarded till at last the Danes gave way. The fleet was surrendered, and the British Government, on the plea that it had been driven to use force, refused to be bound by its offer to restore the ships ultimately

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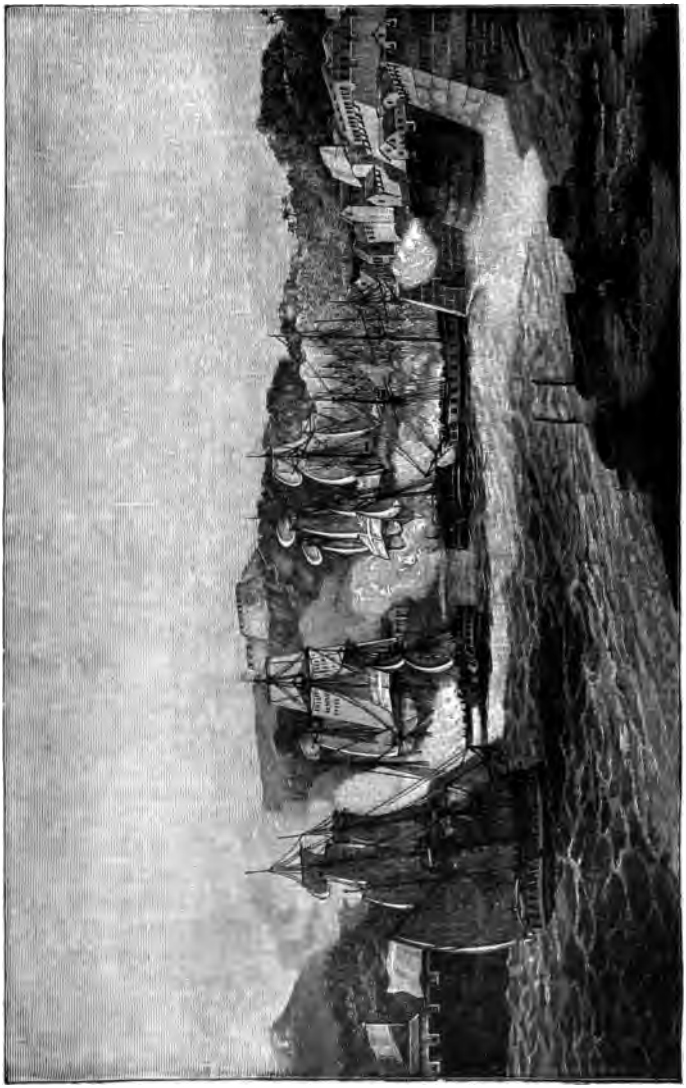

The taking of Curaçao, 1807.

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to their owners. There were many in England who found fault with the whole proceeding, and even George III. seems to have been very much of their opinion. Speaking to the gentleman who had carried to the Crown Prince the message asking him to give up the fleet, the old king asked whether he found the prince upstairs or downstairs. "He was on the ground floor, please your Majesty," was the reply. "I am glad of it for your sake," said the king; "for if he had half my spirit, he would have kicked you downstairs."

CHAPTER LIV

THE DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON. 1807–1814

LEADING DATES

Reign of George III., 1760–1820

The Establishment of Joseph Bonaparte in Spain	1808
Battle of Vimeiro	Aug. 21, 1808
Battle of Corunna	Jan. 16, 1809
Napoleon's War with Austria	1809
Battle of Talavera	July 27-28, 1809
Defence of Torres Vedras	July 22, 1812
Napoleon's Invasion of Russia	1812
Battle of Salamanca	July 22, 1812
Battle of Vittoria	June 21, 1813
Napoleon driven out of Germany	1813
First Restoration of Louis XVIII.	1814
War with America	1812–1814
Battle of Waterloo	June 18, 1815
Second Restoration of Louis XVIII.	1815

1. **Napoleon and Spain. 1807—1808.**—Napoleon had been gradually maturing designs against Spain. The king, Charles IV., was too witless to govern, and the queen was living in adultery with Godoy, an unprincipled favourite who ruled the kingdom. The heir to the throne, Ferdinand, despised his father and hated Godoy. Spain, indeed, had been most subservient to Napoleon, and had sacrificed her fleets to him at St. Vincent and Trafalgar, but even Godoy discovered that Spain received all the loss and none of the advantages of the alliance, and began to show signs of independence. Napoleon resolved to bring Spain entirely under his control, and in October 1807, in order to procure the entry of his troops into the country, signed a treaty with Spain, by which France and Spain

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were to make a joint attack on Portugal, and to cut it up into three parts, one of which was to be given to Godoy. Napoleon then stirred up Ferdinand against his parents, and on this Godoy, not knowing that Napoleon had a hand in the matter, obtained from the king a proclamation announcing that he intended to bring his son to justice. Napoleon, partly on the pretence of attacking Portugal, and partly on the pretence of protecting Ferdinand, sent 80,000 men into Spain, and in February 1808 placed Murat, his brother-in-law and his best cavalry officer, at their head.

2. **The Dethronement of Charles IV. 1808.**—On March 17 a Spanish mob rose against Godoy, and the old king, Charles IV., abdicated in favour of his son. Before long, however, he repented and declared his abdication invalid, whilst Ferdinand insisted that it was in full force. Napoleon, to whom both father and son appealed for support, invited them to Bayonne, where he forced them both to abdicate. In the meanwhile Murat had entered Madrid. On May 2 Madrid rose against him, but the insurrection was put down with great cruelty. Napoleon fancied that all resistance was at an end, but before the end of May the Spanish people, town by town and village by village, rose in a national insurrection against the French, without any one part of the country having previous communication with another. Except in his relations with England, Napoleon had hitherto had to deal with the resistance of governments and armies. He had now to deal with a people inspired with hatred of a foreign conquest. It is true that the Spaniards were ignorant and backward, and that they had no trustworthy military organisation ; but for all that, they had what neither the Germans nor the Italians as yet had, the spirit of national resistance.

3. **The Capitulation at Baylen. 1808.**—In June Napoleon got together a certain number of Spaniards at Bayonne who, by his directions, chose his brother Joseph, hitherto king of Naples, to be king of Spain, after which Napoleon sent Murat to replace Joseph at Naples. Napoleon also urged his generals to put down the resistance of the peasants. They pressed forwards victoriously, but one of them, Dupont, pushing on too far, was obliged, on July 19, to capitulate at Baylen in the Sierra Morena. Joseph had to fly from Madrid, and the whole French army retreated behind the Ebro.

4. **Battle of Vimeiro and Convention of Cintra. 1808.**—In the preceding winter a French army under Junot had invaded Portugal, and had occupied Lisbon, though the whole of the royal family escaped capture by sailing away to the great Portuguese colony of

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Brazil. Portugal and England were old allies, and partly in order to deliver Portugal, partly in order to support the resistance of Spain, the British ministry, urged on by Canning, sent an army to resist Junot. The British Government gave the charge of it to Sir Arthur Wellesley, the best soldier in their service, the victor of Assaye and Argaum (see p. 859). Indian service, however, was in those days little regarded, and two old officers of no distinction, Sir Henry Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard, were sent after Wellesley to take the command over him as soon as they could arrive in Portugal. Meanwhile, on August 1, Wellesley landed in Mondego Bay. On August 21 he completely defeated Junot at Vimeiro. Burrard, who arrived just as the battle was beginning, was enough of a gentleman to let Wellesley remain in command till it was fought out, but he superseded him as soon as it was over, and in spite of Wellesley's pleadings, refused to follow up the enemy. Junot got safely into Lisbon, and on August 30 was allowed by a convention signed at Cintra to return with all his army to France.

5. **Sir John Moore's Expedition and the Battle of Corunna. 1808—1809.** In November 1808 Napoleon entered Spain in person to stem the tide of disaster. The Spanish troops were patriotic, but they were ill-commanded and undisciplined. Napoleon drove them like sheep before him, and, on December 4, entered Madrid. The British army in Portugal was now commanded by Sir John Moore. The Convention of Cintra had been received with indignation in England as improperly lenient to the French, and Wellesley and his two official superiors had been recalled to give an account of their conduct in relation to it. Moore, who was an excellent general, had been ordered to advance to the assistance of the Spaniards, when Napoleon burst into the country. Deceived by false intelligence, and believing that the Spaniards would fight better than they did, Moore pushed on, reaching Sahagun on December 23. He there learnt that Napoleon was already hurrying back from Madrid to crush him. Moore was therefore forced to retreat, but he so skilfully availed himself of the obstacles on the route as to give Napoleon no opportunity of drawing him to a battle. On January 1, 1809, Napoleon, thinking Moore's destruction to be a mere matter of time, turned back, leaving the French army under the command of Soult. On January 16 Moore had to fight a battle at Corunna to secure the embarkation of his men. He was himself killed, but his army was completely victorious, and was brought away in safety to England.

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6. **Aspern and Wagram. 1809.**—Napoleon had been recalled from Spain by news that Austria was arming against him. A war between France and Austria was the result, and after the indecisive battle of Aspern, fought on May 21 and 22, **1809**, the French gained a victory at Wagram on July 6. On October 14 the Treaty of Vienna was signed, by which vast territories were cut off from the Austrian Empire. The treaty was followed by a marriage between Napoleon and the daughter of the Emperor Francis, Napoleon having divorced his wife Josephine on a flimsy pretext, his real motive being that she had borne him no children. The English Government were not idle spectators of this war. Canning had taken in hand the war in Spain.

7. **Walcheren and Talavera. 1809.**—Whilst the result of the campaign in Austria was still uncertain, Castlereagh sent out an expedition to seize Antwerp, in the hope that, if it succeeded, it would compel Napoleon, who was still struggling on the Danube, to send part of his army back. Unfortunately, the command of the land forces sent out was given to Lord Chatham, the eldest son of the great Chatham, who had nothing but his birth to recommend him, and the command of the fleet to Sir Richard Strachan, an officer of no great distinction. Though the expedition did not sail till July 28, three weeks after the defeat of the Austrians at Wagram, there was still a chance that a successful blow at Antwerp might encourage the Emperor of Austria to prolong the struggle. The commanders, however, took Flushing and did no more. Time was frittered away in senseless disputes between the general and the admiral, and Antwerp was put in a good state of defence before they could resolve how to attack it. According to a popular epigram,

> The Earl of Chatham, with his sword drawn
> Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan ;
> Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
> Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham.

Whilst admiral and general were hesitating, the troops were left in the low isle of Walcheren, where a fever broke out which swept away thousands, and so weakened the constitutions of those who recovered that few were fit for active service again. When the news of failure reached England, Canning threw all the blame on Castlereagh. The two ministers both resigned office and then fought a duel. The Duke of Portland, the Prime Minister, broken in health, also resigned, and died shortly afterwards. He was succeeded by Perceval, a conscientious but narrow-minded

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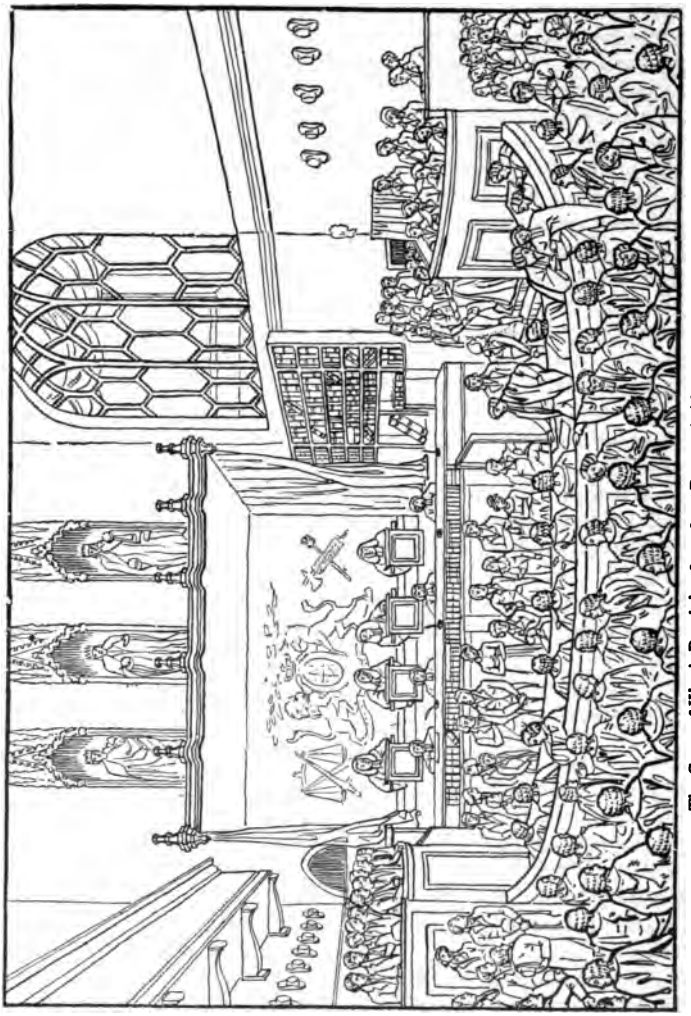
man. Wellesley was sent back to Portugal. Marching rapidly northwards from Lisbon, he drove Soult from Oporto. Having



The Court of King's Bench in 1810: from Pennant's 'Some Account of London.'

thus cleared his left flank, he returned to Lisbon and then pushed up the valley of the Tagus, intending to co-operate with a Spanish

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force in an attack on Madrid. At Talavera Wellesley met a French army under Marshal Victor, and though the Spanish general gave him no assistance, he completely defeated the French on July 27. Other French generals threatened to cut off his retreat, and he was obliged to fall back on Portugal. Wellesley had indeed learnt the lesson that Spanish armies could not be depended on, but otherwise he had gained nothing by his victory. The French forces in the Peninsula were too overwhelming to be overpowered as yet. Wellesley was rewarded for his skill with the title of Viscount Wellington.

8. **Torres Vedras. 1810—1811.**—In **1810** Napoleon made a great effort to drive the English out of Portugal. Though he did not go himself into the Peninsula, he sent his best general, Marshal Massena. Wellington had now under his orders, besides his English troops, a number of well-trained Portuguese commanded by an Irishman, Marshal Beresford. Even with this addition, however, his force was too small to meet Massena in the field, and, in order to have in reserve a defensible position, he threw up three lines of earthworks across the peninsula which lies between the Tagus and the sea. The first was intended to stop Massena for a time; the second to form the main defence after the first had been abandoned; the third to protect the British embarkation, if it were found necessary to leave Portugal. Wellington, who, whilst these lines were being constructed, was some distance in front of them, drew back slowly as Massena advanced, so as to prolong the French invasion as much as possible. Massena's army was accordingly half-starved before the 'Lines of Torres Vedras' were reached, as Wellington had ordered that the crops should be destroyed and the cattle driven off. Yet Massena pressed on, fancying that the English were making for their ships, as the hatred borne to the French by the Portuguese was so deep-seated that not a single peasant informed him of the obstacle in front of him. At Busaco, indeed, Wellington turned on the French army and checked it for a time, but his numbers were not sufficient to enable him to continue his resistance in the open field, and hence he continued his retreat to the first line. Massena did not even attempt to storm it. Week after week he looked helplessly at it whilst his own army was gradually wasted by starvation and disease. More than 30,000 French soldiers perished, though not a single pitched battle had been fought. At last Massena ordered a reteat. Wellington cautiously followed, and by the spring of **1811** not a Frenchman remained in Portugal.

9. **The Regency and the Assassination of Perceval. 1811--**

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1812.—Whilst Wellington was struggling with the French, old George III. ceased to have further knowledge of joy or sorrow. The madness with which he had from time to time been afflicted, settled down on him in **1811**. The selfish and unprincipled Prince of Wales took his place as Regent, at first under some restrictions, but after a year had elapsed without any prospect of the king's recovery, with the full powers of a sovereign. It was expected by some that he would place his old friends the Whigs in office ; but he had no gratitude in his nature, and the current of feeling against reform of any kind was now so strong that he could hardly have maintained the Whigs in power even if he had wished to do so. Perceval was well suited for the Prime Ministership at such a time, being as strongly in favour of maintaining the existing state of things as the dullest member of Parliament could possibly be. His ministry, however, was not a long one. In **1812** he was shot dead by a lunatic as he stepped into the House of Commons. His successor was Lord Liverpool.

10. **Napoleon at the Height of Power. 1811.**—In the meantime Napoleon had been proceeding from one annexation to another. In May **1809** he annexed the Papal States ; in July **1810**, the kingdom of Holland ; in November **1810**, the Valais ; and in December **1810** the coast of Germany as far as Hamburg. The motive which impelled him to these extravagant resolutions was his determination to enforce the Continental System in order to ruin England. England was not ruined, but the rise of prices caused by Napoleon's ineffectual attempts to ruin her increased the ill-will of the populations of the Continent, and strengthened the popular resistance to which he ultimately fell a victim.

11. **Wellington's Resources. 1811.**—It was upon the certainty of a general resistance to what had now become a real tyranny that Wellington mainly calculated. Wellington had, however, on his side other elements of success. His English troops had proved superior to more than equal numbers of Frenchmen, not because they were braver, but because they had more coolness. He had therefore been able to draw his men up in a long line only two deep, and could yet count on them to baffle the heavy columns with which the French were accustomed to charge, by pouring into them a steady fire as they approached. Moreover, as the French generals were in the habit of quarrelling with one another, it was possible to defeat one before another could make up his mind to bring up his forces to the help of his rival. The Spaniards, too, though their

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armies were bad, made excellent *guerillas*,[1] shooting down French stragglers and taking every advantage of the ground. So dangerous did they make the roads, that when an important despatch was sent to France it had to be guarded by 1,000 horsemen. The French armies in the field perceptibly decreased, in consequence of the necessity of detaching large bodies against the *guerillas*.

12. **Wellington's Advance. 1811—1812.**—In spite of these advantages the difference of numbers against Wellington was still very great. Yet on May 5, **1811**, he held his own against Massena at Fuentes d'Onoro. On May 16 Beresford defeated Soult at Albuera, whilst earlier in the year, on March 6, Graham had defeated Victor at Barrosa. For all that, Wellington was unable to retain his advanced position. Massena was indeed recalled from Spain by Napoleon, but two other marshals, Marmont and Soult, joined to resist the English, and Wellington was obliged to retire to Portugal. Before long, however, the two marshals having separated, Wellington resolved to attack the two strong fortresses of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo which barred his way into Spain. Ciudad Rodrigo fell on January 19, **1812**, and Badajoz on April 6. In storming the latter place the slaughter of the British troops was tremendous, as Wellington, knowing that, if he delayed, Soult would be upon him with superior forces, had not been able to wait till all fitting preparations had been made. When at last the soldiers burst in they raged madly through the streets, committing every species of cruelty and outrage. The capture of these two fortresses not only secured Portugal against invasion, but also made it possible for Wellington to conduct offensive operations in Spain.

13. **The Battle of Salamanca. 1812.**—Wellington's task after the capture of Badajoz was lightened by the withdrawal of some of the best of the French regiments from the Peninsula. At the end of **1810** the Tzar Alexander had withdrawn from the Continental System, and it was chiefly on this account that, in **1811**, Napoleon prepared for a war with Russia. In the spring of **1812** his preparations were approaching completion, and troops were recalled from Spain to take part in the attack on the Tzar. In June Napoleon crossed the Niemen to invade Russia, and, in the same month, Wellington crossed the Coa to invade Spain. On July 22 Wellington completely defeated Marmont at Salamanca, after which he entered Madrid in triumph. He pushed on to besiege Burgos,

[1] *Guerilla* is a Spanish word meaning primarily a little war, and so is applied to peasants or others taking part in a war on a small scale.

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but the French armies from the south of Spain gathered thickly round him before he could take it, and he was compelled again to return to Portugal. The campaign, however, had not been in vain, as the French, in order to secure the north against Wellington, had been obliged to abandon the south to the Spaniards.

Grenadier in the time of the Peninsular War.

14. **Napoleon in Russia. 1812.**— Whilst Wellington was gaining ground in Spain, Napoleon, at the head of 450,000 men, entered Russia. Of this force the main army, consisting of 380,000 under his own command, was to fall upon the Russian army, and after destroying it, to dictate peace to the Tzar. The Russian army, however, being far inferior in numbers, retreated, whilst Napoleon's dwindled away from desertion or weariness after each day's march. It was not till he reached Borodino, almost at the gates of Moscow, that he was able to fight a battle. Of the 380,000 men whom he had led over the Niemen he now had no more than 145,000 at his disposal. He defeated the enemy, indeed, in the bloody battle which ensued, but the Russians steadily retreated without confusion, and when Napoleon entered Moscow, on September 14, he waited in vain for any sign of the Tzar's submission. He found Moscow almost entirely deserted, and on the second night after his arrival the city was in flames, having been set on fire by the patriotism of its governor, Rostopchin. It was impossible to feed an army in a destroyed town in the frosts of winter, and on October 19 Napoleon started in retreat with the 100,000 men which were all that were now left. The country through which he had to pass had been stripped on his outward march, and he had made so sure of victory that he had provided no stores in view of a retreat. On November 6 the frost came

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down on the doomed army. The remainder of the retreat was one long misery. Poor frozen wretches were left behind every morning, and weaklings dropped out to perish every day. Fighting, too, there was; and in the end a bare 20,000, of whom probably no more than 7,000 belonged to the original army, staggered out of Russia.

15. **Napoleon driven out of Germany and Spain. 1813.**—In **1813** Prussia, hitherto crushed by French exactions, sprang to arms, and allied herself with Russia. Napoleon put himself at the head of a new army to replace the one which he had lost. So great had been the loss of life in his wars, that he had now to content himself with levying boys, as all those who should now have been the young men had been made soldiers before their time and had for the most part perished. Yet so great was Napoleon's genius that with this young army he defeated the Russians and Prussians in two battles, at Lützen and Bautzen. The defeated armies looked to Austria for aid. Metternich, however, who now governed Austria as the Emperor's minister, feared that if Napoleon were completely beaten, the Tzar would become too powerful, and he therefore, instead of at once joining the allies, asked Napoleon to make peace, by giving up his hold on Germany, but keeping the rest of his dominions. As, however, Napoleon would not yield a jot, Austria joined the allies against him. Napoleon won one battle more at Dresden; then the commanders of his outlying troops were beaten, and he was himself crushed at Leipzig, at what is known in Germany as the Battle of the Nations. By the end of **1813**, so much of his army as still held together was driven across the Rhine. In Spain Wellington was no less successful. On June 21 he overthrew King Joseph at Vittoria, and in the autumn the remains of the French army was forced back out of Spain, and was struggling for its existence round Bayonne.

16. **The Restoration of Louis XVIII. 1814.**—In the early part of **1814** Russians, Prussians, and Austrians entered France. Napoleon, who opposed them with scanty numbers, was for a time even victorious by dashing first at one part of their army and then at the other. At last, however, his power of resistance came to an end. On March 31 the allies entered Paris. On April 3 Napoleon abdicated and was allowed to retire to Elba. Wellington, who had been made a duke after the battle of Vittoria, had in the meanwhile occupied Bordeaux, and on April 10, not knowing of Napoleon's abdication, he defeated Soult at Toulouse. Louis XVIII., the brother of Louis XVI. who had been guillotined

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(see p. 825), became king of France, granting a constitution, known as the Charter. French people had become so weary of war and despotism, that they welcomed the promise of peace and constitutional liberty.

17. **Position of England. 1814.**—The position of England was now exceedingly strong. Not only had her wealth, acquired by her manufactures, enabled her to supply the continental governments with vast sums of money, without which it would have been impossible for them to carry on the struggle, but her own army in Spain had powerfully contributed to the success of the allies, by keeping no less than 300,000 French soldiers away from the decisive conflict in Germany and the north-east of France. That she was able to accomplish this had been, to a great extent, owing to her supremacy at sea. Wellington's troops were well supplied, because vessels from all parts of the globe could arrive safely in the Peninsula with provisions for them, whilst the French had to rely on stores conveyed with difficulty across hostile territory. England's mastery over the sea enabled her to make good her claims to the retention of most of the colonies which she had acquired during the war, though she abandoned Java and the Spice Islands to the Dutch, and some of the West India Islands to the French. This time, however, there was no talk of abandoning the Cape of Good Hope, which was an admirable naval station on the way to India and the East.

18. **War with America. 1812—1814.**—Too much power is never good for man or nation, and just as Napoleon provoked enemies by his Continental System, so did England provoke enemies by her Orders in Council (see p. 860). The United States as a neutral nation was aggrieved by the action of the British Government in stopping American vessels from trading with the Continent, unless they first put into British ports, and also by the search exercised on board them by British cruisers, and by the dragging out of deserters who had forsaken the British for American service. In **1812**, indeed, the Orders in Council were repealed, but it was then too late to avert war, which had already been declared by the United States. The American navy was composed of very few ships but these were larger and better armed than British ships, nominally of the same class. British captains were so certain that they could take whatever they tried to take, that they laid their ships alongside of American vessels much more powerful than their own. The result was that one British ship after another was captured. The tide was turned by Captain Broke of the 'Shannon,' who courteously invited the captain of the American

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frigate the 'Chesapeake' to come out to fight in the open sea. This time the two vessels were on an equality, and Broke, boarding the 'Chesapeake,' took her after an action lasting no more than fifteen minutes. The operations on land made no real impression on the vast American continent. There was much fighting on the Canadian frontier, and in **1814** a large number of the soldiers from the late Peninsular army—an army which, according to Wellington, could go anywhere and do anything—were sent out to America. Washington was taken, and the capitol and other public buildings destroyed—contrary to the usual practice of civilised warfare—in revenge for similar burnings on a smaller scale by the Americans in Canada. The Americans were merely stung to more vigorous resistance, and the British troops were compelled to retreat. A British flotilla on Lake Champlain was overpowered. An attack on New Orleans was baffled. On December 14, **1814**, a peace was signed at Ghent, putting an end to this unhappy war.

19. **The Congress of Vienna. 1814—1815.**—It was a hard matter to settle anew the boundaries of European states after the disturbances caused by French annexations. In **1814** a Congress met at Vienna to decide such questions. So far as its decisions were influenced by any principle at all, they rested on the ground that a strong barrier must be set up against a renewal of French aggression. Not only was the frontier of France driven back almost to that which had existed in **1792**, but the old territories of the Dutch Republic and the Austrian Netherlands were united under the Prince of Orange as king of the Netherlands. Large districts on the Rhine, henceforth to be known as Rhenish Prussia, were united to Prussia. The King of Sardinia not only received back Savoy and Nice, but acquired the strip of land which had once been under the Genoese Republic. In all else there was a scramble for territory, in which the great Powers were of course the most successful. The Tzar got Poland, though it was kept separate as a constitutional kingdom from the rest of Russia. Prussia got half of Saxony, in addition to her new territory on the Rhine. Austria got Lombardy and Venetia. Italy was again divided into separate states, and was thus really placed under the power of Austria; whilst the German aspirations after nationality were only nominally satisfied. There was to be a German Confederation, and deputies of the rulers of the states composing it were to meet at Frankfort; but the powers of this Confederation were extremely restricted, and Austria and

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Prussia were too jealous of one another to allow it to work harmoniously to any good end.

20. **The Hundred Days. 1815.**—In France, the restored Bourbon monarchy soon gave deep offence, by favouring the nobles and clergy, and by showing hostility to the ideas which had become prominent under the Republic and the Empire. Before long Louis XVIII. became widely unpopular. Napoleon watched the movement with pleasure, and, escaping from Elba, landed on the coast of France. The soldiers sent to capture him went over to his side, and on March 21 he reached Paris and was again Emperor of the French. The short reign which followed is known as 'The Hundred Days.' He offered to the allies to remain at peace, but they refused to listen to him, believing that he only wanted to prepare for war, and that the longer they waited the more difficult it would be to suppress him. All four Powers, therefore, England, Prussia, Austria and Russia, prepared for a fresh struggle, but Austria and Russia were far off, and an English army under Wellington and a Prussian army under Blücher were in the Netherlands before the other two allied armies were ready. The English occupied the right and the Prussians the left of a long line in front of Brussels.

21. **The Waterloo Campaign.**—On June 15 Napoleon crossed the frontier. His plan was to beat the Prussians first, and then, driving them off towards Germany, to turn upon the English and to overwhelm them with superior numbers. On the 16th, whilst he sent Ney to keep in check the English at Quatre Bras, he defeated the Prussians at Ligny, and detached Grouchy to follow them up, so as to keep them from coming to the help of Wellington. On the 18th he attacked Wellington himself at Waterloo. Wellington, knowing that the Prussians intended, in spite of Grouchy's pursuit, to come to his help, and that his own numbers were inferior to those of Napoleon, had to hold out against all attacks during the early part of the day, without attempting to deliver any in return. He was well served by the tenacity of his mixed army, in which British soldiers fought side by side with Netherlanders, Hanoverians and Brunswickers. The farm of Hougoumont in advance of Wellington's right centre was heroically defended. In vain the French columns charged upon the British squares, and the French artillery slaughtered the men as they stood. In vain, too, the French cavalry dashed against them. As the men dropped their comrades closed their ranks, fighting on with sadly diminished numbers. At last a black line was seen on the horizon, and that black line was the Prussian army. Napoleon taken in flank by the Prussians made one last

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desperate charge on the English squares. Then Wellington gave the order to advance. The French army, crushed between two forces, dissolved into a flying mob.

22. **The Second Restoration of Louis XVIII.**—The allies followed hard upon the beaten enemy and entered Paris in triumph. Napoleon took refuge in the 'Bellerophon,' an English ship of war. By the decision of the four great Powers he was removed to St. Helena, where he was guarded by the English till his death in **1821**. Louis XVIII. was restored to the throne of France, and Europe at last enjoyed the peace which it had longed for. The French territory was restricted to the limits of **1792**. A heavy fine was also imposed upon France, troops belonging to each of the four Powers being left in occupation of French fortresses till the money was paid.

CHAPTER LV

ENGLAND AFTER WATERLOO. 1815—1827

LEADING DATES

Reign of George III., 1760–1820
Reign of George IV., 1820–1830

Abolition of the Income-Tax	**1816**
Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act	**1817**
The 'Manchester Massacre' and the Six Acts	**1819**
Death of George III. and Accession of George IV.	**Jan. 29, 1820**
Peel Home Secretary	**1821**
Canning Foreign Secretary	**1822**
End of Liverpool's Prime Ministership	**Feb. 17, 1827**

1. **The Corn-Law and the Abolition of the Property Tax. 1815—1816.**—When the war came to an end there was a general expectation in England that peace and plenty would flourish together. Contrary to expectation, the first years of peace were marked by deep agricultural and manufacturing distress. In **1815** Parliament, at that time almost entirely filled with landowners, passed a corn-law forbidding the importation of foreign corn, unless the price of wheat reached 80*s.* a quarter. The law was, however, inoperative, because the price of wheat, instead of reaching 80*s.*, fell steadily. The cessation of expenditure upon war had thrown large numbers of men out of employment, and there was, consequently, less money spent in the purchase of food. The fall in the price of

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corn injured landowners the more because it had been excessively high in the last years of the war, and they had consequently spent money in reclaiming from the waste a great extent of land just good enough to produce sufficient corn to pay expenses when corn was very dear, but not good enough to produce sufficient corn to pay expenses when corn was cheap. In **1816** a bad harvest came, which added to the losses of the agriculturists. In such a time of distress the burden of the war-taxes was sorely felt, and in **1816** the House of Commons insisted on the abolition of the income-tax (see p. 840), which had been imposed by Pitt only for the duration of the war, and the Government was obliged, much against its will, to abandon it.

2. **Manufacturing Distress. 1816.**—In **1816** a bad harvest sent up the price of corn, but did not improve the condition of agriculturists, as they had but little corn to sell. The return of high prices for food seriously affected the condition of the artisans in the manufactories, who were at this time suffering from other causes as well. In the war-time England had had almost a monopoly on the Continent for its wares, because few men cared to build factories for the production of wares, when they might at any time be burnt or destroyed by a hostile army. This danger was now at an end, and as foreign nations began to increase their own produce, the demand for English goods diminished. The want of employment for labour which had diminished the demand at home for food also diminished the demand at home for manufactures. In **1816**, accordingly, there was widely spread manufacturing distress in England. Bankruptcies were frequent, and thousands of workmen lost their employment.

3. **The Factory-System. 1815—1816.**—There was no public system of education for the poor, and the artisans had no means of learning what were the real causes of their misery. The factory-system, which had grown up since the introduction of improved machinery, had spread discontent amongst the workers. Manufacturers, anxious only to make money, were careless of the lives and health of their workers, and there was no law intervening to secure more humane action. London parishes often sent off waggon-loads of pauper children to the cotton mills in Yorkshire and Lancashire in order that they might be relieved of the expense of maintaining them, and the unfortunate children were frequently compelled to work, even at the age of six, fifteen or sixteen hours a day. Grown-up men and women found much of their work taken from them by the labour of the children, who were practically

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slaves, and they themselves, if they got work at all, had to labour for exceedingly long hours for exceedingly small wages. When, as in **1816**, large numbers failed to get any work whatever, the starving multitude threw all the blame on the employers.

4. **The Radicals. 1816—1817.**—Towards the end of **1816** riots broke out in many places, which were only put down by soldiers. In many places the rioters directed their violence against machinery, to the existence of which they attributed their misery. Some men of better education laid all the blame upon the existing political system which placed power entirely in the hands of the rich, and called for complete and 'radical' reform, sometimes asking that it should be effected by violence. These men were, in consequence, styled 'Radicals,' and were looked upon as inspired—as indeed they were—with the ideas of the French Revolutionists. In December, **1816**, there was in London a riot, known as the 'Spafields riot,' which was, however, repressed without difficulty. In the beginning of **1817** a number of secret committees were formed, and the most extensive changes demanded.

5. **Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. 1817—1818.**—The Government was frightened. Its leading members were Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister, Lord Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary, and Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, who had been formerly Prime Minister as Mr. Addington (see p. 843). They had all been engaged in combating the French Revolutionary ideas, and, when they saw these ideas making head in England, they could not think of any way to deal with them other than forcible repression. They had sufficient influence to carry through Parliament Bills for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act till the following year, and for the prevention of seditious meetings, the penalty of death being imposed on those who being engaged in such a meeting refused to disperse. The Government ignored the part which physical distress played in promoting disturbances. In Manchester, indeed, the dissatisfied workmen contented themselves with the simple expedient of marching in a body on foot to present a petition to the Regent, and as each petitioner took with him a blanket to keep himself warm, the expedition has been known as the 'March of the Blanketeers.' The Blanketeers were, however, stopped on the way, and never even approached the Regent. There was a talk afterwards of a rising in arms, but such designs, whatever they may really have been, were frustrated by the arrest of the ringleaders. Only in Nottinghamshire did they actually

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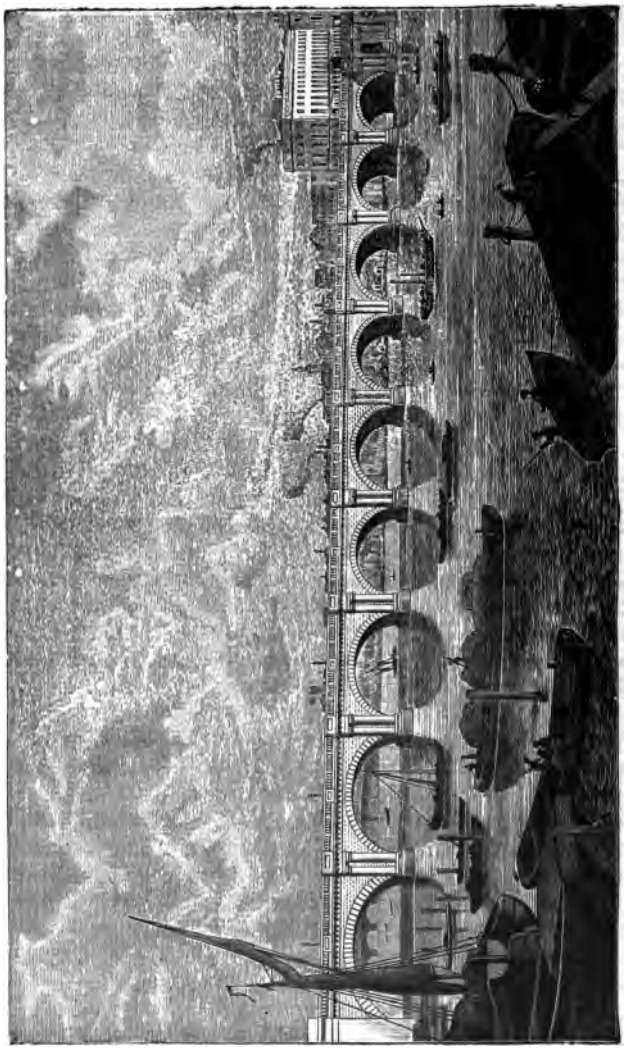

Waterloo Bridge: opened June 18, 1817, built by Rennie.

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lead to violence. There a certain Brandreth, at the head of a party, seized arms, and shot dead a man who opposed him. Happily in **1817** there was a better harvest. The price of corn fell, and trade revived. Work was again to be had, and the spirit of insubordination was quieted for a time. On March 1, **1818**, the Habeas Corpus Act again came into force, and has never since been suspended in England.

6. **A Time of Prosperity. 1818—1819.**—The return of prosperity was not confined to England. So marked were the peaceful tendencies of France that in **1818** a congress of the four Powers whose soldiers occupied French fortresses was held at Aix-la-Chapelle, and it was resolved to withdraw the garrisons. In England, in **1819**, Mr. Peel, a rising member of Parliament on the Tory side, recommended the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England (see p. 835), and, so much improved was the financial position of the Government, that a Bill embodying his suggestions was carried, and in **1821** the Bank of England ceased to refuse to change its notes for gold.

7. **Renewal of Distress. 1819.**—The prosperity of **1818** had given rise to speculative over-production of manufactures, with the result that more goods were produced than were needed by consumers. Production was therefore limited in **1819**, and there was again great distress amongst the artisans. Large numbers of those who suffered had come to the conclusion that their condition would never be improved till power was placed in the hands of the masses by a sweeping measure of Parliamentary reform. Their cause had been advocated in the press by Cobbett, the author of hard-hitting, plain-spoken pamphlets, calling for a complete transference of political power from the landowners to the masses. This remedy for the evils of the time was supported on the platform by Hunt, usually known as 'Orator' Hunt, who, whilst stirring up his audiences to violence, took care to keep his own person out of danger, and in Parliament by Sir Francis Burdett, whose advocacy of a universal suffrage met with few supporters in the House of Commons.

8. **The 'Manchester Massacre.' 1819.**—To support these views a vast meeting of at least 50,000 gathered on August 16, **1819**, in St. Peter's Field in Manchester, where an address was to be delivered by Hunt. The magistrates ordered the arrest of Hunt in the midst of the vast crowd of his supporters. A party of mounted Yeomanry, attempting to effect his capture, was soon broken up, and the isolated soldiers were subjected to jeers and

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insults. The magistrates then sent Hussars to support the Yeomanry. The Hussars charged, and the weight of disciplined soldiery drove the crowd into a huddled mass of shrieking fugitives, pressed together by their efforts to escape. When at last the ground was cleared many of the victims were piled up on one another. Five or six deaths was the result, and the number of wounded was considerable. The 'Manchester Massacre,' as it was called, opened the eyes of many whose hearts had hitherto been callous to the sufferings of the discontented artisans. Men hitherto content to argue that social and economical difficulties could not be solved by giving power to the ignorant masses began to criticise the ineptitude of the magistrates, who might have avoided all violence by arresting Hunt either before or after the meeting, and to ask themselves whether a system could be justified which led to the dispersal of meetings of peaceable citizens by armed soldiers.

9. **The Six Acts. 1819.**—The Government, on the other hand, took a harsh view of the conduct, not of the magistrates, but of the crowd. "Every meeting for Radical reform," wrote a distinguished lawyer, "was not merely a seditious attempt to undermine the existing constitution and Government by bringing it into contempt, but it was an overt act of treasonable conspiracy against that constitution of Government, including the king as its head and bound by his coronation oath to maintain it." Lord Eldon, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, warmly supported this view of the case, and, as soon as Parliament met, six measures, usually known as 'The Six Acts,' were rapidly passed. Of these some were harmless or even beneficial. The harshest was the one directed against public meetings. With the exception of such as were summoned by official persons, 'all meetings for the consideration of grievances in Church and State, or for the purpose of preparing petitions . . . except in the parishes . . . where the individuals usually reside,' were forbidden. To prevent any attempt to introduce inflammatory appeals from celebrated persons brought from a distance the presence of strangers at these local meetings was prohibited.

10. **Death of George III. and the Cato-Street Conspiracy. 1820.**—On January 29, 1820, George III. died. As the new king, his son George IV., had for many years been acting as regent, the change was merely nominal. The same ministers remained in office, and the same policy was pursued. The attempt to make difficult the free expression of opinion gave rise to secret con-

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spiracies, and there were undoubtedly many discontented persons in the country ready to use violence to gain their ends. A certain Thistlewood, with about thirty other persons, proposed to murder the whole Cabinet when assembled at dinner on February 23. The conspiracy was betrayed, and the conspirators, who met in a loft in Cato Street, were seized, and their leaders executed. For a time the 'Manchester Massacre' was forgotten, and many who had felt

George III. in old age: from Turner's mezzotint.

for the victims of the soldiery now execrated all reformers as supporters of assassins.

11. **Queen Caroline. 1820—1821.**—In 1795 George IV. had married Caroline of Brunswick. From the beginning he had treated her shamefully, and the pair were separated after the birth of an only child, the Princess Charlotte. In 1816 this Princess, the heiress to the throne, was married to Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, and in 1817 she died in child-bed. She had been very popular, and hopes had been entertained that when she came to

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reign she would establish at Court a purer life. Her death accordingly caused a general gloom. When George IV. came to the throne attention was publicly called to his degrading vices. To his wife, who had been leading an indiscreet and probably a discreditable life on the Continent, he refused to allow the position or even the title of a queen. In **1820**, when she returned to meet any charges that might be brought against her, she received a most enthusiastic greeting from the populace, the general feeling being that, even if her conduct had been as bad as her husband said, his own had been so base that he had no right to call her in question. The ministers, indeed, introduced into the House of Lords a Bill to dissolve her marriage and to deprive her of the title of queen, but the majority in its favour was so small that they had to abandon it. The queen's popularity, however, deserted her when she accepted a grant of money from the ministers who had attacked her, and in **1821** she died.

12. **The Southern Revolutions. 1820—1823.**—In Spain Ferdinand VII., and in Naples Ferdinand I., had been ruling despotically and harshly. In **1820** the armies in both countries rose against the kings and established the same democratic constitution in both. Metternich, the Austrian minister, called on the great Powers of Europe to put down what he held to be a pernicious example to all other countries. Russia and Prussia supported him, and, meeting in congress at Troppau, called on England and France to join them against the Neapolitans. Louis XVIII., on the part of France, attempted to mediate, and though Castlereagh, the English Foreign Secretary, warmly disapproved of revolutions, he protested against Metternich's view that the great Powers had a right to interfere to suppress changes of government in smaller states. In **1821** the congress removed to Laibach, and an Austrian army marched upon Naples. The Neapolitan army ran away, and the Austrians restored Ferdinand I. A military revolution which took place in the kingdom of Sardinia was crushed at the same time. In **1823** a French army entered Spain and restored Ferdinand VII. Both at Naples and in Spain the restored kings were vindictively cruel to those who had driven them from power.

13. **Castlereagh and Canning. 1822—1826.**—Castlereagh did not live to work out the policy which he had announced in the protest laid by him before the congress of Troppau. In **1822**, in a moment of insanity, he committed suicide. His successor was George Canning. There was no great difference in the substance of the policy of the two men. Both had supported the doctrine of

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national independence against Napoleon, and both were ready to support it against the allied Powers whose union was popularly, though incorrectly, known as the Holy Alliance. Castlereagh, however, was anxious to conciliate the great Powers as much as possible, and confined his protests to written despatches, which were kept secret; whereas Canning took pleasure in defying Metternich and openly turned him into ridicule in the eyes of the

George IV.: from an unfinished portrait by Lawrence in the National Portrait Gallery.

world. Castlereagh was accordingly detested in England as the supporter of the Holy Alliance, whereas Canning soon became popular as its opponent. He allowed, indeed, the French army to enter Spain in 1823, and had no thought of dragging England into a war; but in 1824 he acknowledged the independence of the Spanish colonies in America, after it had practically been accomplished by the exertions of the colonists. "I have called," he said

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boastfully, "a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old." Such claptrap revealed the lower side of his character; but in **1826** he showed that he could act promptly as well as speak foolishly. A constitutional government having been established in Portugal, Spain, backed by France, threatened to invade Portugal. Canning at once sent British troops to secure Portugal, and the danger was averted.

14. **National Uprising in Greece. 1821—1826.**—The object of the revolutionists in Spain and Italy had been constitutional change. An almost simultaneous rising in Greece aimed at national independence. The Turkish government was a cruel despotism, and in **1821** there was a rising in the Peloponnesus or Morea. Turks and Greeks were merciless to one another. The Turks massacred Greeks, and the Greeks gave no quarter to Turks. The Greeks had the advantage of a well-equipped shipping, and could hold their own at sea. In **1822** two great Turkish armies were sent to conquer the insurgents in the land, but one was driven back by the defenders of Missolonghi in Ætolia, the other was starved out and perished in the mountains of Argolis. The Sultan Mahmoud appealed for help to Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, who had practically made himself almost independent of the Sultan, and Mehemet Ali sent to his help an Egyptian army under his own adopted son Ibrahim Pasha. In **1824** Ibrahim conquered Crete, and in **1825** landed in Peloponnesus, where he did his best absolutely to exterminate the population by slaughtering the men and sending off the women to be sold into slavery. In **1826**, whilst Ibrahim was wasting Peloponnesus, the Turks captured Missolonghi, and in **1827** they reduced the Acropolis of Athens. Canning had all along sympathised with the Greeks, but Metternich opposed him in all directions. Canning accordingly turned to Russia, where Nicholas had succeeded his brother Alexander I. in **1825**, and in **1826** he and the new Tzar came to an agreement that Greece should be freed from the direct government of the sultan, but should be required to pay him a tribute.

15. **Peel as Home Secretary. 1821—1827.**—Whilst Canning won credit for the ministry by a popular direction of foreign affairs, Peel—who had succeeded Sidmouth as Home Secretary in **1821**—won credit for it by his mode of dealing with domestic difficulties. When he came into office a deep feeling of distrust existed between the rich and the poor. The rich were in a state of panic, fearing every political movement amongst the mass of

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their fellow-countrymen as likely to produce a renewal in England of the horrors of the French Revolution. The poor, on the other hand, attributed the misery resulting from economical causes, or even from the badness of the weather, to the deliberate machinations of the rich. What was wanted at that time was, not to bring classes into more violent collision by attempting to reform Parliament in a democratic direction, but to soften down the irritation between them by a series of administrative and economic reforms, which should present Parliament as a helper rather than as a contriver of fresh methods of repression. Peel was, of all men, the best fitted to take the lead in such a work. He had no sympathy with hasty and sweeping change, but he had an open mind for all practical improvements. Sooner or later the force of reasoning made an impression on him, and he was never above avowing—what with some people is the most terrible of confessions—that he had changed his mind.

16. **Criminal Law Reform. 1823.**—The reform of the criminal law had long been advocated in vain by two large-minded members of the House of Commons, Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir James Mackintosh. As the law stood at the beginning of the century no less than two hundred crimes were punishable by death. Anyone, for instance, who stole fish out of a pond, who hunted in the king's forests, or who injured Westminster Bridge, was to be hanged. Sometimes these harsh laws were put in force, but more often juries refused to convict even the guilty, preferring rather to perjure themselves by delivering a verdict which they knew to be untrue than send to death a person who had merely committed a trivial offence. Again and again the House of Commons had voted for an alteration of the law, but the House of Lords had obstinately refused to pass the Bills sent up to them with this object. In **1823** Peel brought in Bills for the abolition of the death penalty for about a hundred crimes, and the House of Lords at last gave way, now that the abolition was recommended by a minister.

17. **Huskisson and the Combination Laws. 1824—1825.**—Reforms were the more easily made because the distress which had prevailed earlier was now at an end. In **1821** a revival of commerce began, and in **1824** and **1825** there was great prosperity. In the struggle which had long continued between master-manufacturers and their workmen, the workmen had frequently combined together in trades-unions to impose terms upon the masters, and had attempted to enforce their demands by striking work. Combinations between workmen were, however, illegal till

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in 1824, at the instance of Joseph Hume, a rising economical reformer, and with the warm support of Huskisson, the President of the Board of Trade, the laws against combinations were repealed, though in 1825, in consequence of acts of violence done by the workmen against unpopular masters, a further act was passed making legal all combinations both of

Lord Byron: from an engraving in the British Museum from a painting by Sanders.

masters and men, if entered on for the purpose of fixing wages, but illegal if entered on for any other purpose.

18. **Robinson's Budgets. 1823—1825.**—This attempt to give freedom to labour was accompanied by steps in the direction of freedom of trade. Robinson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, supported by Huskisson, employed the surplus given him by the

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prosperity of the country to reduce the duties on some imports. It was but little that was done, but it was the first time since Pitt's commercial treaty with France that a government showed any signs of perceiving that Englishmen would be better off by the removal of artificial difficulties in the way of their trade with other nations.

19. **The End of the Liverpool Ministry. 1826—1827.**—Though the ministry was in name a Tory ministry, it was far from being united on any subject. Some of its members, like the Chancellor, Lord Eldon, continued to detest all reforms, thinking that they must ultimately lead to a catastrophe ; whilst other ministers, like Canning, Peel, and Huskisson, were in favour of gradual reforms, though there were some particular questions on which even the reformers were not in agreement. So discordant a ministry could hardly have been kept together but for the tact and easy nature of its head, the Earl of Liverpool, who allowed the ministers to argue against one another in Parliament even on important subjects. On February 17, 1827, Liverpool was incapacitated from public service by an attack of apoplexy, and it was by that time evident that the two sections of the Cabinet would not be able to serve together under any other leader. Whatever differences there might be about details, the main difference between the two sections can be easily described. On the one hand, the unprogressive section not only disliked the idea of changing institutions which had proved themselves useful in past times, but also shrank from giving way to increased popular control over Parliament, or to any violent popular demand for legislation. On the other hand, the progressive section, though hardly prepared to allow the decisions of Parliament to be influenced by popular pressure, was yet in some sympathy with the popular feeling on subjects ripe for legislation.

20. **Burns, Byron, and Shelley.**—As usually happens, the strong opinions which prevailed amongst politicians were reflected in the literature of the time. Burns, the Ayrshire ploughman, whose first verses were written in 1775, was in full accordance with the precursors of the French Revolution in his love of nature and his revolt against traditional custom, and too often in his revolt against traditional morality. The often-quoted lines

> The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
> The man 's the gowd for a' that,

show the same contempt for class distinctions as inspired the writings of Rousseau. Whilst, however, Rousseau looked to the

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good sense of the masses to remedy the evils of the time, Burns turned hopefully to the work and sturdiness of individual men to heal the evils caused by the inordinate value placed on social rank. The honour paid to the free development of individual character was, in fact, the characteristic of the English and Scottish

Sir Walter Scott: from a painting by Colvin Smith.

revolt against existing order, as opposed to the honour paid by the French Revolutionists to the opinion of the community. Byron, whose first poems were printed in 1806, but whose first great work—the first two cantos of *Childe Harold*—appeared in 1812, embodied this form of revolt in his works as well as in his life in a very different fashion from that of Burns. Breaking loose himself from moral restraints, he loved to glorify the characters of those who set at defiance the order of civilised life. In 1824 he died of fever at Missolonghi, fighting for Greek independence. Shelley, whose

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poems range from 1808 to his early death by drowning in 1822, had a gentler spirit. All human law and discipline seemed to him to be the mere invention of tyrants, by which the instinctive craving of the soul for beauty of form and nobility of life was repressed.

21. **Scott and Wordsworth.**—On the other hand two great poets, Scott and Wordsworth, upheld the traditions of the ancient order of society. Scott's first great poem, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, appeared in 1805. In 1814 he deserted poetry for the writing of the Waverley Novels. His mind was filled with reverence for the past life of his country, and this he set forth in verse and prose as no other writer has done. Yet Scott's works may be quoted in support of the doctrine that no considerable movement of thought can leave its greatest opponents unaffected, and the better side of the revolutionary upturning, its preference of the natural to the artificial, and of the humble to the exalted, inspired the best work of Scott. His imaginative love for the heath-clad mountains of his country, and his skill in depicting the pathos and the humour of the lowly, stood him in better stead than his skill in bringing before his readers the chivalry and the pageantry of the past. As it was with Scott so it was with Wordsworth whose first poetry was published in 1793. The early promise of the French Revolution filled him with enthusiasm, but its excesses disgusted him, and he soon became an attached admirer of the institutions of his country. It was not this admiration, however, which put the stamp of greatness on his work, but his open eye fixed, even more clearly than Scott's, upon the influences of nature

Wordsworth at the age of 28: from a portrait by Hancock in the National Portrait Gallery.

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upon the human mind, and a loving sympathy with the lives of the poor.

22. **Bentham.**—In politics and in law the same influences were felt as in literature. As the horror caused by the French Revolution cleared away, there arose a general dissatisfaction with the existing tendency to uphold what exists merely because it exists. The dissatisfaction thus caused found support in the writings of Jeremy Bentham, who busied himself from 1776 to his death in 1832 with suggestions of legal and political reform. Like Voltaire and the French encyclopedists, he asked that legislation might be rational, and he sought a basis for rational legislation in the doctrine of utility. Utility he defined to be 'that property in any object whereby it tends to produce benefit, advantage, pleasure, good, or happiness, or to prevent the happening of mischief, pain, evil, or unhappiness to the party whose interest is considered.' The object which Bentham desired, therefore, has been summed up in the phrase 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number,' and though in pursuit of this Bentham and his disciples often left out of sight the satisfaction of the spiritual and emotional parts of man's complex nature, they undoubtedly did much to clear away an enormous quantity of mischievous legislation. It was in a kindred spirit that Romilly, Mackintosh and Peel urged on the modification of the criminal law, and it was hardly likely that a movement of this kind, when once begun, would be soon arrested.

Books recommended for the further study of Part X.

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NAPIER, SIR W. F. P. History of the Peninsular War.

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The Political History of England.
Vol. 10 (1760–1801) by Rev. W. Hunt.
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PART XI

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER LVI

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION AND PARLIAMENTARY REFORM 1827–1832

LEADING DATES

Reign of George IV., 1820–1830
Reign of William IV, 1830–1837

Canning Prime Minister	April 10, 1827
Goderich Prime Minister	Aug. 8, 1827
Battle of Navarino	Oct. 20, 1827
Wellington Prime Minister	Jan. 9, 1828
Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts	1828
Catholic Emancipation Act	1829
Death of George IV. and Accession of William IV.	1830
Lord Grey's Ministry	1830
Introduction of the Reform Bill	March 1, 1831
The Reform Act becomes Law	Jan. 7, 1832

1. **Questions at Issue.** 1827.—During the latter years of Liverpool's Prime Ministership two questions had been coming into prominence: the one that of Catholic emancipation by the admission of Catholics to Parliament and to offices of state; the other that of Parliamentary reform, with a view to diminish the power of the landowners over elections to the House of Commons, and to transfer at least part of their power to enlarged constituencies. Of the leading statesmen Wellington and Peel were opposed to both the proposed changes; Canning was in favour of Catholic emancipation, but opposed to Parliamentary reform; whilst the Whigs, the most noteworthy of whom were Earl Grey in the House of Lords, and Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, were favourable to both.

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2. Canning Prime Minister. 1827.—Before Liverpool left office a resolution in favour of Catholic emancipation was defeated in the House of Commons by the slight majority of four, and almost immediately afterwards Canning, who had spoken and voted for it, was appointed Prime Minister. Seven of the former ministers, including Wellington and Peel, refused to serve under him. On the other hand he obtained the support of the Whigs, to a few of whom office was shortly afterwards given. The Whigs had been long unpopular, on account of the opposition which they had offered to the war with France even whilst Wellington was conducting his great campaigns in the Peninsula; but they had now a chance of recovering public favour by associating themselves with domestic reforms. There can hardly be a doubt that Canning's ministry, if it had lasted, could only have maintained itself by a more extended admission of the Whigs to power. Canning's health was, however, failing, and on August 8 he died, having been Prime Minister for less than four months.

Canning: from Stewardson's portrait.

3. The Battle of Navarino and the Goderich Ministry. 1827.—Canning was succeeded by Goderich, who had formerly, as Mr. Robinson (see p. 886), been Chancellor of the Exchequer. His colleagues quarrelled with one another, and Goderich was too weak a man to settle their disputes. Before the end of the year news arrived which increased their differences. On July 6, whilst Canning still lived, a treaty had been signed in London between England, France, and Russia, binding the three powers to offer

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mediation between the Turks and the Greeks, and, in the event of either party rejecting their mediation, to put an end by force to the struggle which was going on. Instructions were sent to Codrington, the admiral commanding the Mediterranean fleet, to stop supplies coming into Greece from Turkey or Egypt, but to avoid hostilities. On September 9 a fleet composed of Turkish and Egyptian ships, laden with men and supplies, reached Navarino, close to the ancient Pylos, in the south-west of Peloponnesus. Codrington arrived two days later, and was afterwards joined by French and Russian squadrons. The combined fleet compelled the Turkish and Egyptian fleet to remain inactive. On land, however, Ibrahim (see p. 884), who commanded the army transported in it from Egypt, proceeded deliberately to turn the soil of Peloponnesus into a desert, slaying and wasting as he moved. On October 20, the allied admirals, unwilling to tolerate the commission of such brutalities, entered the Bay of Navarino, in which twenty-two centuries before Athenians and Lacedæmonians had contended for the mastery. A gun was fired from a Turkish ship, and a battle began in which half of the Egyptian fleet was destroyed, and the remainder submitted. The victory made Greek independence possible. There can be little doubt that Canning, if he had lived, would have been overjoyed at the result. Goderich and his colleagues in the ministry could not agree whether Codrington deserved praise or blame. There were fresh quarrels amongst them, and, on December 21, 'Goody Goderich,' as the wits called him, went to the king to complain of his opponents. George IV. told him to go home and take care of himself. It is said that on this the Prime Minister burst into tears, and that the king offered him his pocket handkerchief to dry them. On January 9, 1828, Goderich formally resigned.

4. **Formation of the Wellington Ministry. 1828.**—The Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister, and Peel again became Home Secretary and the leading minister in the House of Commons. The new ministry, from which the Whigs were rigorously excluded, was to be like Lord Liverpool's one, in which Catholic emancipation was to be an open question, each minister being at liberty to speak and vote on it as he thought fit. Those who supported it, of whom Huskisson was one, were now known as Canningites, from their attachment to the principles of that minister. It was, however, unlikely that the two sections of the ministry would long hold together, especially as the question of Parliamentary reform was now rising into importance, and the Canningites showed a disposition to break away on this point

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from Wellington and Peel, who were strongly opposed to any change in the constitution of Parliament.

5. **Lord John Russell and Parliamentary Reform. 1819—1828.**—The cause of Parliamentary reform had suffered much from the sweeping nature of the proposals made after the great war by Hunt and Sir Francis Burdett (see p. 879). In **1819** the question was taken up by a young Whig member, Lord John Russell, who perceived that the only chance of prevailing with the House of Commons was to ask it to accept much smaller changes than those for which Burdett asked, and thought that, whilst it would not listen to declarations about the right of the people to manhood suffrage, it might listen to a proposal to remedy admitted grievances in detail. In **1819** he drew attention to the subject, and in **1820** asked for the disfranchisement, at the next election, of four places in Devon and Cornwall: Grampound, Penryn, Barnstaple and Camelford, which returned two members apiece, and in which corruption notoriously prevailed. His proposal, accepted by the Commons, was rejected by the Lords. In a new Parliament which met later in the same year Lord John proposed to disfranchise Grampound only, and to transfer its members to Leeds, thus touching one of the great political grievances of the day, the possession of the right of returning members by small villages, whilst it was refused to large communities like Birmingham and Leeds. The House was, however, frightened at the idea of giving power to populous towns, and in **1821**, when the Bill for disfranchising Grampound was actually passed, its members were transferred, not to Leeds but to Yorkshire, which thus came to return four members instead of two. A first step had thus been taken in the direction of reform, and Lord John Russell from time to time attempted to obtain the assent of the House of Commons to a proposal to take into consideration the whole subject. Time after time, however, his motions were rejected, and in **1827** Lord John fell back on his former plan of separately attacking corrupt boroughs. In **1827** Penryn and East Retford having been found guilty of corruption, he obtained a vote in the Commons for the disfranchisement of Penryn, whilst the disfranchisement of East Retford was favourably considered. As this vote was not followed by the passing of any act of Parliament to give effect to it, it was understood that Lord John would make fresh proposals in the following year.

6. **Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. 1828.**—In **1828**, after the formation of the Wellington Ministry, before the question of the corrupt boroughs was discussed, Russell was successful in

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removing another grievance. He proposed to repeal the Corporation Act (see p. 585), and the Test Act (see p. 607), so far as it compelled all applicants for office and for seats in Parliament to receive the Communion in the Church of England. By this means relief would be given to Dissenters, whilst Roman Catholics would still be excluded by the clause which required a declaration against transubstantiation and which Russell did not propose to repeal. Russell's scheme was resisted by the ministers but accepted by the House, and it finally became law, passing the House of Lords upon the addition of a clause suggested by Peel requiring a declaration from Dissenters claiming to hold office or to sit in Parliament or in municipal corporations that they would not use their power 'to injure or subvert the Established Church.' It was thus made evident that Peel could not be counted on to resist change as absolutely as Sidmouth could have been calculated on when the reaction against the French Revolution was at its height. He was practical and cautious, not easily caught by new ideas, but prompt to discover when resistance became more dangerous than concession, and resolutely determined to follow honestly his intellectual convictions.

7. **Resignation of the Canningites. 1828.**—The ministry had been distracted by constant squabbles, and at last, in May, **1828**, Huskisson and the other Canningites resigned, the ministry being reconstructed as a purely Tory ministry. The Tories were in ecstasies, forgetting that their leaders, Wellington and Peel, were too sensible to pursue a policy of mere resistance.

8. **The Catholic Association. 1823—1828.**—The main question, on which the Tories took one side and the Whigs and Canningites the other, was that of Catholic emancipation. That question now assumed a new prominence. In Ireland Catholic emancipation was advocated by Daniel O'Connell, who was himself a Roman Catholic, and was not only an eloquent speaker whose words went home to the hearts of his countrymen, but also the leader of a great society, the Catholic Association, which had been formed in **1823** to support Catholic emancipation. In **1824** the Catholic Association became thoroughly organised, and commanded a respect amongst the majority of Irishmen which was not given to the Parliament at Westminster. O'Connell's words sometimes pointed to the possibility of resistance if Parliament rejected the Catholic claims. In **1825** Parliament passed an act to dissolve the Association. The Irish were, however, too quick-witted to allow it to be suppressed by British legislation. They dissolved the Association, but started

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a new one in which the question of Catholic emancipation was not to be discussed, though the members naturally thought the more about it. In Parliament itself many who had voted for the dissolution of the Association voted for Catholic emancipation, and, in 1825, a Bill granting it passed the Commons, though it was rejected by the Lords.

9. **O'Connell's Election. 1828.**—In 1828 Vesey Fitzgerald, member for the county of Clare, was promoted to an office previously held by one of the Canningites, and had, consequently, to present himself for re-election (see p. 674). O'Connell stood in opposition to him for the vacant seat. All the influence of the priests was thrown on his side, and he was triumphantly returned, though it was known that he would refuse to declare against transubstantiation, and would thus be prevented by the unrepealed clause of the Test Act (see p. 890) from taking his seat in the House of Commons.

10. **Catholic Emancipation. 1829.**—When Parliament met in 1829 it was discovered that the Government intended to grant Catholic emancipation, to which it had hitherto been bitterly opposed. Wellington looked at the matter with a soldier's eye. He did not like to admit the Catholics, and had held the position against them as long as it was tenable. It was now, in his opinion, untenable, because to reject the Catholic claims would bring about a civil war, and a civil war was worse than the proposed legislation. He felt it, therefore, to be his duty to retreat to another position, from which civil order could be better defended. Peel's mind moved slowly, but it moved certainly, and he now appeared as a defender of Catholic relief on principle. To show his sincerity, Peel resigned his seat for the University of Oxford, and presented himself for re-election in order to allow his constituents to express an opinion on his change of front; and, being defeated at Oxford, was chosen by the small borough of Westbury. A Bill, giving effect to the intentions of the Government, was brought in. The anger of the Tories was exceedingly great, and even Wellington had, after the fashion of those days, to prove his sincerity by fighting a duel with the Earl of Winchilsea. The king resisted, but the resistance of George IV., now a weak old voluptuary, was easily beaten down. The Commons passed the Bill, throwing open Parliament, and all offices except a few of special importance, to the Roman Catholics, after which the House of Lords, under Wellington's influence, accepted it. The Bill therefore became law, accompanied by another for disfranchising forty-shilling freeholders

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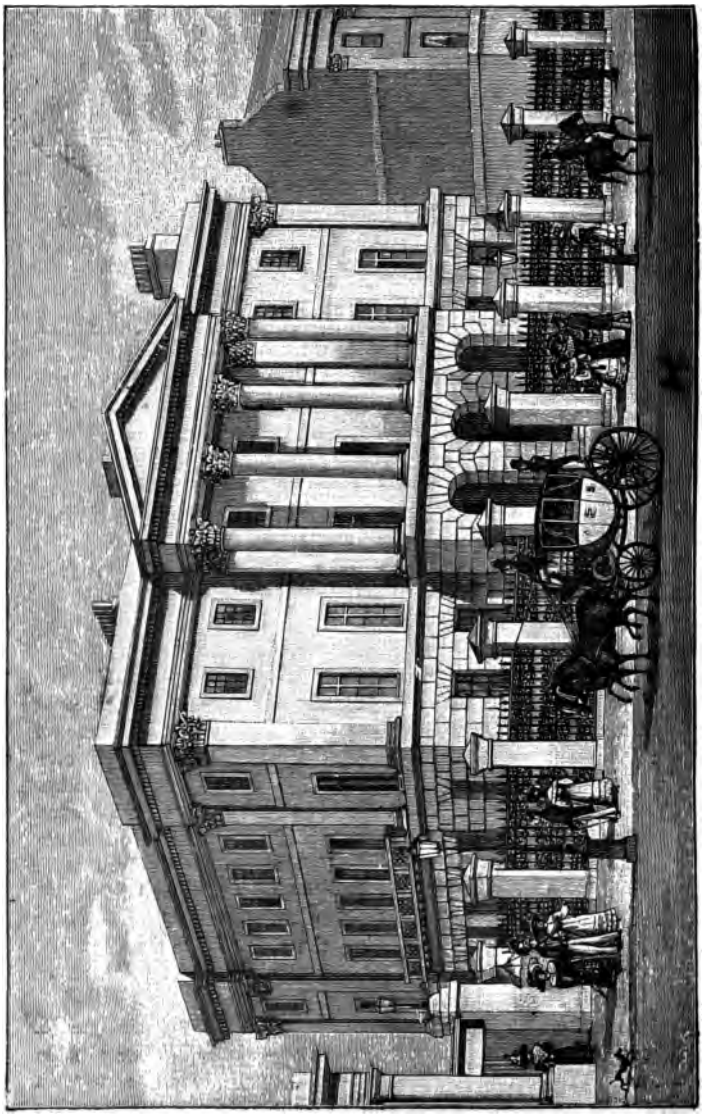

Apsley House, the residence of the Duke of Wellington : from an engraving of 1820

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in Ireland. These freeholders had been allowed to vote as long as their votes were given to the landlords; their votes were taken from them now that they were given to the candidates supported by the priests.

11. **Death of George IV. 1830.**—Catholic emancipation was the result of the spread of one of the principles which had actuated the French Revolutionists in 1789, the principle that religious opinions ought not to be a bar to the exercise of civil or political rights. It was—as far, at least, as Great Britain was concerned—not the result of any democratic movement. The mass of Englishmen and Scotchmen still entertained a strong dislike of the Roman Catholics, and it has often been said, perhaps with truth, that if Parliament had been reformed in 1829, the Emancipation Bill would have been rejected. The position of the ministers in the House of Commons was weakened in consequence of the enmity of many of their old supporters, whilst the opposition, composed of Whigs and Canningites, was not likely to give them constant support. In the course of 1830 the Whigs chose Lord Althorp as their leader, who, though he had no commanding genius, inspired confidence by his thorough honesty. Before the effect of this change appeared George IV. died unregretted on June 26.

12. **William IV. and the Second French Revolution. 1830.**—The eldest surviving brother of the late king succeeded as William IV. He was eccentric, and courted popularity by walking about the streets, and allowed himself to be treated with the utmost familiarity by his subjects. Some people thought that, like his father, he would be a lunatic before he died. A new Parliament was elected in which the Tories, though they lost many seats, still had a majority; but it was a majority divided against itself. Events occurred on the Continent which tended to weaken still further the Wellington ministry. In France Charles X., having succeeded his brother Louis XVIII., became rapidly unpopular. Defying the Chambers, which answered in France to the Parliament in England, he was overthrown in July 1830 by a revolution which placed his distant cousin, the Duke of Orleans, on the throne. Louis Philippe, however, instead of taking the title of King of France, which had been borne by the preceding kings, assumed that of King of the French, as a sign of his adoption of a merely constitutional authority. He was, in fact, to be to France what William III. had been to England. Such a movement in a neighbouring nation could not fail to influence Englishmen, especially as there was a feeling now spreading in England in some respects analogous to

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that which existed in France. Charles X. had been deposed not merely because he claimed absolute power, but because he did so in the interests of the aristocracy as opposed to those of the middle

William IV.

class, and in England too the middle class was striving to assert itself against the landowners who almost exclusively filled the two Houses. The lead was taken by the Birmingham Political Union, and all over the country demands were made for Parliamentary reform.

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13. **The End of the Wellington Ministry. 1830.**—In the House of Lords, when a new Parliament was opened in November, Lord Grey—who as Mr. Grey had urged the necessity of reforming Parliament in the early days of the great French Revolution (see p. 827)—suggested to Wellington that it would be well to bring in such a measure now. Wellington not only refused, but added that if he had to form for the first time a legislature for the country 'he did not mean to assert that he could form such a legislature as they possessed now, for the nature of man was incapable of reaching such

The Duke of Wellington: from a bust by Francis in the National Portrait Gallery.

excellence at once; but his great endeavour would be to form some description of legislature which would produce the same results.' After this his ministry was doomed. On November 15 it was defeated in the House of Commons by a combination between the opposition and dissatisfied Tories, and Wellington at once resigned. He had done good service to the state, having practised economy and maintained efficiency. In London his ministry made its mark by the introduction, in 1829, of a new police, in the place of the old useless constables who allowed thieves to escape instead

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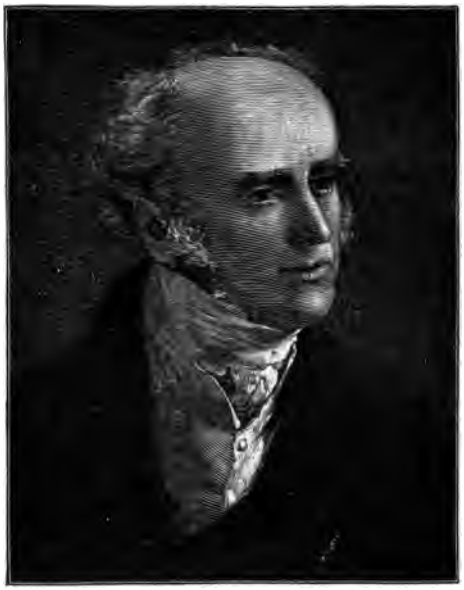
of catching them. The nicknames of 'Bobby' and 'Peeler' which long attached themselves to policemen had their origin in the names of Robert Peel, by whom the force was organised.

14. **Lord Grey's Ministry.** 1830.—Lord Grey became the head of a ministry composed of Whigs and Canningites. Amongst the former were Lord John Russell, Lord Althorp who led the House of Commons, and Viscount Melbourne, a man of great abilities and great indolence of temperament, of whom it was said



Earl Grey: from a figure in Hayter's Reformed Parliament in the National Portrait Gallery.

that his usual answer to proposals of reform was, 'Can't you let it alone?' Amongst the latter was Lord Palmerston, another Canningite, who had long been known as a painstaking official of considerable powers, but who now for the first time found a position worthy of them by becoming Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Brougham, a stirring but eccentric orator, was made Lord Chancellor to keep him from being troublesome in the House of Commons. To Lord John Russell an inferior office was assigned, and he was not made a member of the Cabinet, but, in consequence

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of the services which he had rendered to the cause of Parliamentary reform, he was entrusted with the task of bringing before the House of Commons the Bill which the new Government proposed to introduce on that subject.

15. **The Reform Bill. 1831.**—The Reform Bill was brought in by Russell on March 1, **1831.** He had an easy task in exposing the faults of the old system. Old Sarum, which returned two members, was only a green mound, without a habitation upon it. Gatton, which also returned two members, was only a ruined wall, whilst vast communities like Birmingham and Manchester were totally unrepresented. The proposal of the ministry was to sweep away sixty small boroughs returning 119 members, and to give only one member apiece instead of two to forty-six other boroughs nearly as small. Most of the seats thus placed at the disposal of the ministry were to be given, in almost equal proportions, to the counties and the great towns of England; a few being reserved for Scotland and Ireland. In the counties, the franchise or right of voting which had hitherto been confined to the possessors of a freehold worth 40*s.* a year, was conferred also on persons holding land worth 10*l.* a year by copyhold, or 50*l.* a year by lease.[1] In the boroughs a uniform franchise was given to all householders paying rent of 10*l.* a year.

Viscount Melbourne: from a figure in Hayter's Reformed Parliament in the National Portrait Gallery.

16. **The Bill Withdrawn. 1831.**—The Tories were numerous

[1] The copyhold is so called because it is a tenure of which the only evidence is a copy of the Court Roll of a Manor. It is a perpetual holding subject to certain payments. Leasehold is a tenure for a term of years by lease.

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in the House of Commons, and opposed the Bill as revolutionary. Many of them shared the opinion of Wellington, who believed that if it passed the poor would seize the property of the rich and divide it amongst themselves. In reality, the character of the voters in the counties would be much the same as it had been before, whilst the majority of the voters in the boroughs would be the smaller shopkeepers who were not in the least likely to attack property. The second reading of the Bill,[1] however, only passed by a majority of one, and a hostile amendment to one of its clauses having been carried, the Government withdrew the Bill and dissolved Parliament in order that the question might be referred to the electors.

17. **The Reform Bill Re-introduced. 1831.**—In times of excitement the electors contrived to impress their feelings on Parliament, even under the old system of voting. From one end of the country to the other a cry was heard of 'The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill.' The new House of Commons had an enormous Whig majority. The Reform Bill, slightly amended, was again brought in by Russell, to whom a seat in the Cabinet had been at last given. In the course of discussion in the Commons a clause, known as the Chandos clause from the name of its proposer, was introduced, extending the franchise in counties to 50*l.* tenants at will. As these new voters would be afraid to vote against their landlords for fear of being turned out of their farms, the change was satisfactory to the Tories. Yet, after the Bill thus altered had passed the House of Commons, it was, on October 8, rejected by the House of Lords.

18. **Public Agitation. 1831.**—The news of the rejection of the Bill was received with a torrent of indignation. Meetings were everywhere held in support of the Government. In the House of Commons Macaulay—a young man afterwards the historian of the reigns of James II. and William III.—urged the ministry to persist in its course. "The public enthusiasm," he said, "is undiminished. Old Sarum has grown no bigger, Manchester has grown no smaller. . . . I know only two ways in which societies can be governed—by public opinion and by the sword. A government having at its command the armies, the fleets, and the revenues of

[1] A Bill before either House is read a first time in order that the members may be enabled to see what it is like. In voting on the second reading members express an opinion whether or no they approve of its general principle. In committee it is discussed clause by clause, to give the House an opportunity of amending it in detail; and a vote is then taken on the third reading to see if the majority of the House approves of it in its amended form. It is then sent to the other House, where it goes through the same process.

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Great Britain might possibly hold Ireland by the sword; . . . but to govern Great Britain by the sword, so wild a thought has never occurred to any public man of any party. . . . In old times, when the villeins were driven to revolt by oppression, when a hundred thousand insurgents appeared in arms on Blackheath, the king rode up to them and exclaimed, 'I will be your leader,' and at once the infuriated multitude laid down their arms and dispersed

Lord Palmerston: from a seated figure in Hayter's Reformed Parliament in the National Portrait Gallery.

at his command. Herein let us imitate him. Let us say to our countrymen 'We are your leaders. Our lawful power shall be firmly exerted to the utmost in your cause; and our lawful power is such that it must finally prevail.'" It was a timely warning. Outside Parliament there were men who thought that nothing but force would bear down the resistance of the Lords. The Birmingham Political Union (see p. 899) held a meeting at which those

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who were present engaged to pay no taxes if the Reform Bill were again rejected. At Bristol there were fierce riots in which houses were burnt and men killed.

19. **The Reform Bill becomes Law. 1831—1832.**—On December 12, **1831**, the Reform Bill was again, for a third time, brought into the House of Commons. On March 23, **1832**, it was passed, and the Lords had then once more to consider it. On April 14 they passed the second reading. On May 7, on the motion of Lord Lyndhurst, who had been Chancellor in Wellington's ministry, they adopted a substantial alteration in it. The ministers at once asked the king to create fifty new peers to carry the Bill, in the same way that the address on the Treaty of Utrecht had been carried by the creation of twelve new peers in the reign of Anne. The king, who was getting frightened at the turmoil in the country, refused, and ministers resigned. Wellington was ready to take office, giving his support to a less complete Reform Bill, but Peel refused to join him, and Lord Grey's Government was reinstated, receiving from the king a promise to create peers if necessary. On this Wellington, unwilling to see the House of Lords swamped by fresh creations, persuaded many of his friends to abstain from voting. The Bill met with no further obstacles, and, on June 7, became an Act of Parliament by the Royal Assent.

20. **Character of the Reform Act. 1832.**—In its final shape the Reform Act absolutely disfranchised forty-one boroughs and took away one member from thirty others. Thereby, and by its alteration of the franchise, it accomplished a great transference of power, in favour of the middle classes in the towns. Though it did not establish a democracy, it took a long step in that direction.

21. **Roads and Coaches. 1802—1820.**—The advent of the middle classes to power was prepared by a series of material improvements by which they were especially benefited. The canals made in the beginning of the reign of George III. no longer sufficed to carry the increased traffic of the country. Attention was therefore paid to the improvement of the roads. Telford, a Scotchman, taught road-makers that it was better to go round a hill than to climb over it, and, beginning in **1802**, he was employed for eighteen years in improving the communications in Scotland and Wales by making good roads and iron bridges. The Menai suspension bridge, his best known work, was begun in **1819**. He and another Scotchman, Macadam, also improved the surface of the roads, which had hitherto been made of gravel or flint, thrown down at random. Telford ordered the large stones to be broken and

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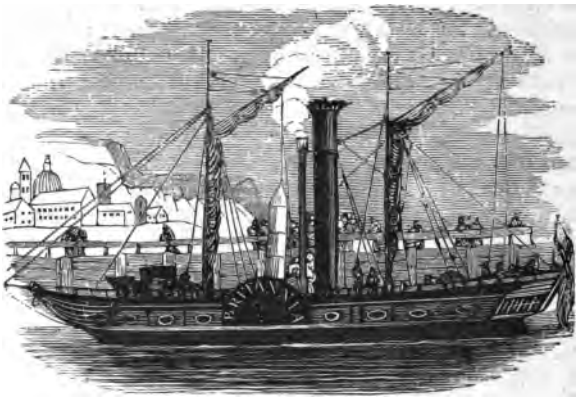
mixed with fine gravel, and Macadam pursued the same course round Bristol. He declared that no stone should ever be used in mending roads which was not small enough to go into a man's mouth. Through these improvements travelling became more easy, and coaches flew about the country at what was considered to be the wonderful rate of ten miles an hour.

22. **Steam Vessels and Locomotives. 1811—1825.**—The first application of steam to locomotion was in vessels. The first steamboat in Great Britain, 'The Comet,' the work of Henry Bell, plied on the Clyde in **1812**, and though Fulton in America had made a steam-boat in **1811**, it is almost certain that he derived his ideas from Bell. It was not till later that a steam-engine was made to



Early steamboat : from the *Instructor* of 1833.

draw travellers and goods by land. Of many attempts, none succeeded till the matter was taken in hand by George Stephenson, the son of a poor collier in Northumberland. He had learnt something about machinery in the colliery in which he worked as a boy, and when he grew up he saved money to pay for instruction in reading and writing. He began as an engineer by mending a pumping-engine, and at last attempted to construct a locomotive. His new engine, constructed in **1814**, was not successful at first, and it made such a noise that it was popularly known as 'Puffing Billy.' In **1816** he improved it sufficiently to enable it to draw trucks of coal on tramlines from the colliery to the river. At last, in **1825**, the Stockton and Darlington Railway was opened for the conveyance of passengers as well as goods, and both the line and the loco-

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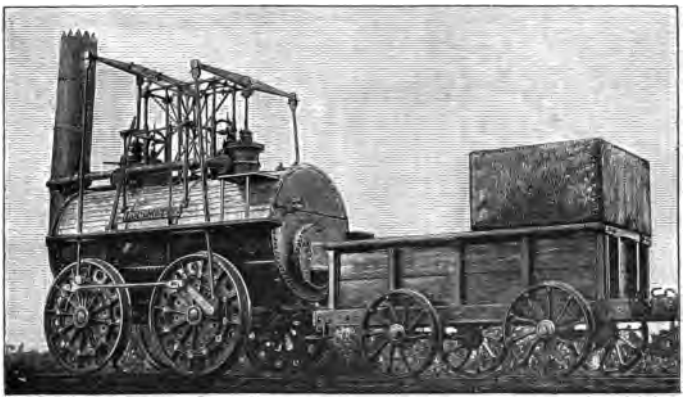
motive used on it were constructed under Stephenson's management. The new engine was able to draw ninety tons at the rate of eight miles an hour.

Engine employed at the Killingworth Colliery, familiarly known as 'Puffing Billy.'

23. **The Liverpool and Manchester Railway.** 1825—1829.—In **1825** it was resolved to make a railway between Liverpool and Manchester, and Stephenson was employed as the engineer. In



No. 1. Engine of the Stockton and Darlington Railway; now on a pedestal at the south end of the new station at Darlington.

1829, when it was finished, the proprietors were frightened at the idea of employing steam-engines upon it, till Stephenson persuaded them to offer a prize for an improved locomotive. Four inventors,

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St. Luke's, Chelsea (an early example of the Gothic revival), designed by Savage, and built in 1824.

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of whom Stephenson was one, sent in engines to compete. Stephenson's, which was called the 'Rocket,' was the only one which would move, and finally ran at the rate of thirty-five miles an hour. After that there was no doubt that Stephenson's was the only engine likely to be of any use. Unfortunately the experiment cost the life of a statesman. Huskisson, who had quarrelled with Wellington in 1828 (see p. 895), seeing him in a railway carriage, stepped up to shake hands, when he was himself run over by the Rocket and killed.

CHAPTER LVII

THE REFORMERS IN POWER. 1832—1841

LEADING DATES

William IV., 1830—1837	Victoria, 1837—1901
Abolition of Slavery	1833
The New Poor Law	1834
Peel's First Ministry	1834
The Second Melbourne Ministry	1835
Accession of Victoria	1837
Resignation and Re-instatement of the Melbourne Ministry	1839
Final Resignation of the Melbourne Ministry	1841

1. **Liberals and Conservatives. 1832.**—Before the end of 1832 a Parliament met, in which the House of Commons was elected by the new constituencies created by the Reform Act. The Ministerialists were in an enormous majority, all of them anxious to make use of their victory by the introduction of practical reforms. There was, however, considerable difference amongst them as to the reforms desirable, the Radicals wishing to go much farther than the Whigs. To conceal, as far as possible, this difference, a new name—that of Liberals—was borrowed from Continental politicians, to cover the whole party. Their opponents, finding the name of Tories unpopular, began to call themselves Conservatives.

2. **Irish Tithes. 1831—1833.**—One of the first difficulties which the Government had to face was that of Irish tithes. Catholic emancipation had not made Ireland richer, and there was still in that country a superabundant population, in many parts scarcely able to live and at the same time meet the demands of their

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landlords and of the clergy of a Church which was not their own. There was no poor law in Ireland to give relief to the destitute, and many of the landlords were absentees. In **1831** and **1832** the payment of tithes was often refused, and the collectors were sometimes murdered. General outrages also increased in number, and in **1833**, when an attempt was made by the Government to enforce the payment of tithes, only 12,000*l.* out of 104,000*l.* was recovered. The Government was divided as to the proper measures to be adopted. The Chief Secretary[1]—the minister specially entrusted with Irish affairs—was Stanley, a man of great abilities and a fiery temper, who wished to accompany proposals of redress by strong measures for the coercion of those by whom the law was resisted. His policy was described as a 'quick alternation of kicks and kindness.' On the other hand, O'Connell had begun to denounce the Union between Ireland and Great Britain and to ask for its repeal. In **1833** Stanley brought in a Bill for the trial of offenders in disturbed districts by courts-martial. As soon as this had been passed Althorp brought in another Bill to reduce the number of Irish bishops from twenty-two to twelve, and to tax the Irish clergy and apply the proceeds to the extinction of Church-cess, a rate levied to keep the church buildings in good condition. This Bill too became law, but only after the Government had dropped what was called the Appropriation Clause, which was to enable the Government to apply to general purposes the revenue obtained by diminishing the number of the bishops.

3. **Abolition of Slavery. 1833.**—Stanley had made so many enemies in Ireland that it was thought advisable to remove him from his post. He became Colonial Secretary, and was at once confronted with the question of the abolition of slavery in British colonies. For some years Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, and Zachary Macaulay (the father of Macaulay the historian), had been pleading the cause of the slave. In the West Indies slaves were often subjected to brutal cruelty. To take a few instances : a little slave-girl, having dropped some cream belonging to her mistress, was scolded by her mother, a slave-woman named America. The master of both of them had America flogged with no less than 175 lashes for remonstrating with her own daughter, holding that, as the child was his property, she ought only to have been scolded by himself or his wife. Three slave-women were flogged for crying when their brothers were flogged. Another woman, whose brother was

[1] *I.e.* the chief secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, but practically controlling him, as being responsible directly to Parliament, of which he is a member.

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flogged for attending a dissenting chapel, was flogged merely for sighing. When Stanley came into office, new as he was to the details of the subject, he mastered them in three weeks, and carried a Bill for the complete abolition of slavery, though leaving the former slaves apprentices to their late masters for twelve years. The purchase-money given by Great Britain to the slave-owners was 20,000,000*l.* The apprenticeship system was found unsatisfactory and was soon done away with.

4. **The First Factory Act. 1833.**—The abolition of negro slavery was accompanied by an effort to lighten the sorrows of factory children who were kept at work in unwholesome air often for thirteen hours a day. Lord Ashley, who afterwards became Earl of Shaftesbury, took up their cause, and carried a Bill limiting the hours of labour for children under thirteen years to eight hours a day, and for children between thirteen and eighteen to twelve hours a day, though he would himself have preferred a stronger measure. This law was the beginning of a factory legislation which has done much to make England peaceable and contented.

5. **The New Poor Law. 1834.**—The session of **1834** was occupied with a measure of a different kind. The Poor Law, as it existed, was a direct encouragement to thriftlessness. Relief was given to the poor at random, even when they were earning wages, so that employers of labour preferred to be served by paupers, because part of the wages would then be paid out of the rates. The more children a poor man had the more he received from the rates, and in this and in other ways labourers were taught that they would be better off by being dependent on the parish than by striving to make their own way in the world. The consequent increase of the rates had become unbearable to those who had to pay them: in one parish, for instance, rates which had been less than 11*l.* in **1801** had risen to 367*l.* in **1832**. By the new Poor Law, passed in **1834**, workhouses were built and no person was to receive relief who did not consent to live in one of them. The object of this rule was that no one might claim to be supported by others who was capable of supporting himself, and residence in the workhouse, where work would be required, was considered as the best test of real poverty, because it was thought that no one would consent to go in unless he was really distressed. Afterwards it was remembered that in some cases, such as those of old people who could not work even if they had the will, no such test was required. The strict rule of the law was, therefore, subsequently relaxed, and outdoor relief granted in certain cases.

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6. **Break-up of the Ministry. 1834.**—The ministry had by this time lost much of its popularity. Every piece of successful legislation alienated some of its supporters, and the rapidity of the changes effected by the reformed Parliament frightened many easy-going people. Peel, too, who led the Conservatives in the House of Commons, was growing in favour by the ability, and still more by the moderation, which he displayed. The ministers, too, disagreed amongst themselves. An open rupture occurred when Lord John Russell declared for the right of Parliament to appropriate the misused revenues of the Irish Church to other purposes. "Johnny," wrote Stanley to Sir James Graham, the First Lord of the Admiralty, "has upset the coach." Stanley, Graham, and Lord Ripon —who had formerly been known as Lord Goderich (see p. 892)— resigned together. Further misunderstandings brought about the resignation of Grey, who had been an excellent Prime Minister as long as the Reform question was still unsettled, but who did not possess the qualities needed in the head of a divided Cabinet. He was succeeded by Lord Melbourne, and Melbourne contrived to keep his followers together for a few months. In November, however, Lord Althorp, who was the leader of the House of Commons, became Earl Spencer by his father's death, and it was therefore necessary to find a successor to him. The king, who had long been alienated from the Reformers, took advantage of the occasion to dismiss the ministry. It was the last time that a ministry was dismissed by a sovereign.

7. **Foreign Policy of the Reformers. 1830—1834.**—Whilst the home policy of the Reform ministry had been weakened by divisions in the Cabinet, its foreign policy had been in the strong hands of Lord Palmerston (see p. 901). In **1830** the revolution at Paris had been followed by a revolution at Brussels, the object of which was not to procure internal reforms but to separate Belgium from the kingdom of the Netherlands, of which it had formed a part only since **1814** (see p. 873). Lord Palmerston's policy was to forward the desire of the Belgians for independence and at the same time to hinder any attempt on the part of France to annex their territory. In this, with the assistance of Louis Philippe the new king of the French, he completely succeeded. In **1831** Leopold of Saxe Coburg, whose first wife had been the Princess Charlotte (see p. 881), was chosen by the Belgians as their king, and married one of the daughters of Louis Philippe. Though the Dutch resisted for a time, they were compelled to relinquish their hold on any part of Belgium. A French army captured from them

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the citadel of Antwerp and then retired to its own territory. The key-stone of Palmerston's policy was an alliance—not too trustful—between the constitutional monarchies of England and France, which was drawn the more tightly because the absolute government of Austria crushed all attempts at resistance in Italy, and the absolute government of Russia put down with great harshness an attempt made by Poland to assert her independence. To these two monarchies Prussia was a close ally, and Europe was thus divided into two camps, the absolute and the constitutional.

8. **Peel's First Ministry. 1834—1835.**—Sir Robert Peel, having been appointed Prime Minister by the king, dissolved Parliament. In an address to the electors of Tamworth, the borough for which he stood, he threw off the doctrines of the old Tories, professing himself to be a moderate but conservative reformer. This 'Tamworth manifesto,' as it was called, served his party in good stead. The Conservatives gained seat after seat, and it is probable that, if the king had had a little more patience and had allowed the ministry to fall to pieces of itself instead of dismissing it, the Conservatives would have been in a majority. As it was, though they had nearly half the House, they were still in a minority. When Parliament met, February 19, **1835**, it had some difficulty in finding temporary accommodation, as the old Houses of Parliament, in which the struggles of nearly three centuries had been conducted, had been burnt to the ground in the preceding October. Peel was outvoted from the beginning, but he insisted on bringing in his measures before he would retire, and, at all events, had the satisfaction of showing that he was capable of preparing good laws as well as of giving good advice. The Liberals, however, were too angry to adopt even good laws when proposed by a minister who had risen to power by the use of the king's prerogative. They entered into an agreement with O'Connell, known, from the place where its terms were settled, as the Lichfield House Compact, and, having thus secured, by the support of the Irish members, an undivided majority, they insisted on the appropriation of the surplus revenues of the Irish Church to purposes of education. They carried a succession of votes on this subject, and, on April 8, **1835**, Peel resigned. He left behind him a general impression that he was the first statesman in the country.

9. **Beginning of Melbourne's Second Ministry. 1835—1837.**—Melbourne again became Prime Minister, and Russell Home Secretary and leader of the House of Commons. The first great work of the new ministry was the passing of a Municipal Corporations

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Bill, providing that corporations should be elected by the ratepayers, instead of being self-chosen as they frequently were. The Tories in the House of Lords, where they had a large majority, tried to introduce considerable alterations in it, but Peel threw them over and accepted the Bill with a few changes, so that it became law without further difficulty. Peel gained in credit by subordinating the interests of his party to those of the country, and the ministry consequently lost ground. Their weakness was exposed by the attitude which they were obliged to assume towards the Lords on another question. The Commons passed a Bill for placing Irish tithes upon the landlord instead of the tenant, adding the Appropriation Clause which they had formerly attempted to attach to the Bill for the reduction of the number of Bishops (see p. 910). The Lords threw out the clause, and the ministers then withdrew the Bill. Attempts made in later years to get the Bill passed with the clause equally failed, and at last, in 1838, ministers ignominiously dropped the clause, upon which they passed the Bill through both Houses. A Government with the House of Commons and the nation at its back can in modern times defy the House of Lords. Melbourne's Government tried to defy it with the support of the House of Commons but without the support of the nation. Consequently, though some useful measures were passed, the Lords were able, in the teeth of the Government, to reject anything they disliked.

Banner of the Royal Arms, as borne since 1837.

10. **Queen Victoria. 1837.**—On June 20, 1837, William IV. died, and was succeeded by his niece the Princess Victoria who was just over eighteen, the time of life at which heirs to the throne come of age. Her dignity and grace won her general popularity, and the ministry, which she was known to favour, regained some popularity and, after the new elections had been held in the autumn, it was, as before, supported by a small majority in the House of Commons.

11. **Canada. 1837—1841.**—The state of Canada at this time caused great difficulties to the ministry. Upper and Lower Canada were independent colonies, the population of the former

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Queen Victoria at her accession: engraved by Thompson after a portrait by Lane.

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being almost entirely British, and the population of the latter being preponderantly French. In both there were loud complaints of the jobbery and misconduct of the Home Government, but the constitutional arrangements were such that in neither colony was the popularly elected Legislative Assembly able to influence the action of the colonial government, by which the Home Government was represented. The feeling in Lower Canada was particularly bitter, as the French, who were attached to their own ways, resented the pushing, self-satisfied behaviour of English settlers who came amongst them. The Colonial Secretary in England, Lord Glenelg, was not enough of a statesman to find a satisfactory remedy for the grievances of the colonists, and in **1837** a rebellion burst out which was, indeed, suppressed, but which alarmed the Home Government sufficiently to induce it to send Lord Durham out as Commissioner, with full powers to arrange all difficulties, so far as he could do so in accordance with the law. Lord Durham was the ablest man of the Liberal party, but he had no tact, and was excessively self-willed. On his arrival in Canada in **1838**, he transported to Bermuda eight persons connected with the rebellion, and ordered that fifteen persons who had left the colony should be put to death if they came back. As both these orders were illegal the Home Government recalled him, but they took his advice after his return, and joined together the two colonies, at the same time altering the constitution so as to give control over the executive to the Legislative Assembly. The union between the colonies, which was intended to prevent the French of Lower Canada having entirely their own way in their own colony, was proposed in **1839** and finally proclaimed in **1841**. The new arrangements gave satisfaction to both colonies for the time.

12. **Ireland. 1835–1841.**—The condition of Ireland under the Melbourne Government was much improved, and its improvement was due to the ability and firmness of Thomas Drummond, the Under-Secretary. Hitherto the Orangemen (see p. 834), including in their ranks many magistrates, had had it all their own way in the North, where Catholics, whom they chose to oppress, seldom met with justice. Drummond did his best to enforce the law equally in all parts of Ireland, not only between Protestant and Catholic, but also between landlord and tenant. He thereby exasperated the landlords, whose ideas of right and wrong had hitherto been entirely shared by the Government. On the other hand, he so thoroughly won for himself the goodwill of the Irish Catholics, that O'Connell laid aside for a time the cry for the re-

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peal of the Union which he had raised under Lord Grey's ministry. One element of Irish discontent was beyond the power of any government wholly to remove. So rapid was the increase of the population as to bring with it great poverty, and some landlords, finding their rents unpaid, solved the difficulty by evicting the tenants who were unable or unwilling to pay. As there was no poor law in Ireland the evicted tenant had seldom anything but starvation before him, and he often revenged himself by outrages

Lord John Russell: from a painting by Sir F. Grant, in the possession of the Dowager Countess Russell.

and even by murder. In a celebrated letter to the magistrates of Tipperary Drummond announced that 'Property has its duties as well as its rights,' reminding them that in part, at least, the misery in Ireland had arisen from their unsympathetic treatment of their tenants. The magistrates were so angry that they suppressed the letter for a time. In 1838 a Poor Law for Ireland was passed to enable some relief to be given to those who were in danger of

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starvation, and, in the same year, a Tithe Act became law without the Appropriation Clause, upon which the ministers had hitherto insisted (see p. 914), thus removing one of the chief causes of conflict in Ireland by enacting that tithes should be levied on the landowner and not on the tenant.

13. **The Bedchamber Question. 1839.**—Though Lord Melbourne's government had addressed itself with ability to the solution of most of the questions of the day, it had no longer any popular sentiment behind it, and was obliged to submit without resistance to the mutilation or rejection of its measures by the House of Lords. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Spring Rice, who was a poor financier, had to announce, without venturing to provide a remedy, that the national expenditure was greater than the national income. The mere fact that the Government found itself baffled, weakened it both in Parliament and in the nation; and accordingly, in **1839**, the Government resigned. Though Peel, who was summoned to succeed Melbourne, had no difficulty in forming a ministry, he was afraid of the influence which the Ladies of the Bedchamber exercised over the young queen, and asked that the sisters and wives of members of the late Government who held that post should be dismissed. The queen, being unwilling to part with her old friends, refused to dismiss them, and Peel then declined to form a ministry. Melbourne returned to office hoping to be more popular than before, as the sympathy of the country was on the side of the queen.

14. **Post Office Reform. 1839.**—One piece of reform was only unwillingly accepted by the re-instated ministers. One day the poet Coleridge passed a cottage in the north of England as a postman arrived with a letter. A girl came out, looked at the letter, and returned it to the postman. In those days the payment for postage was high, a shilling or two being an ordinary charge, the postage rising according to the distance. The receiver, not the sender of the letter, had to pay for it. Coleridge felt compassion for the girl and paid for the letter. As soon as the postman was out of hearing the girl told him that she was sorry that he had given so much money for a letter which had nothing written inside it. She then explained that her brother had gone to London and had promised that, as she was too poor to pay postage, he would, at stated intervals of time, address to her a blank sheet of paper, which she would have to return to the postman, but the sight of which would let her know that he was in good health. Coleridge told this story to Rowland Hill, an officer in the Post Office, who thought

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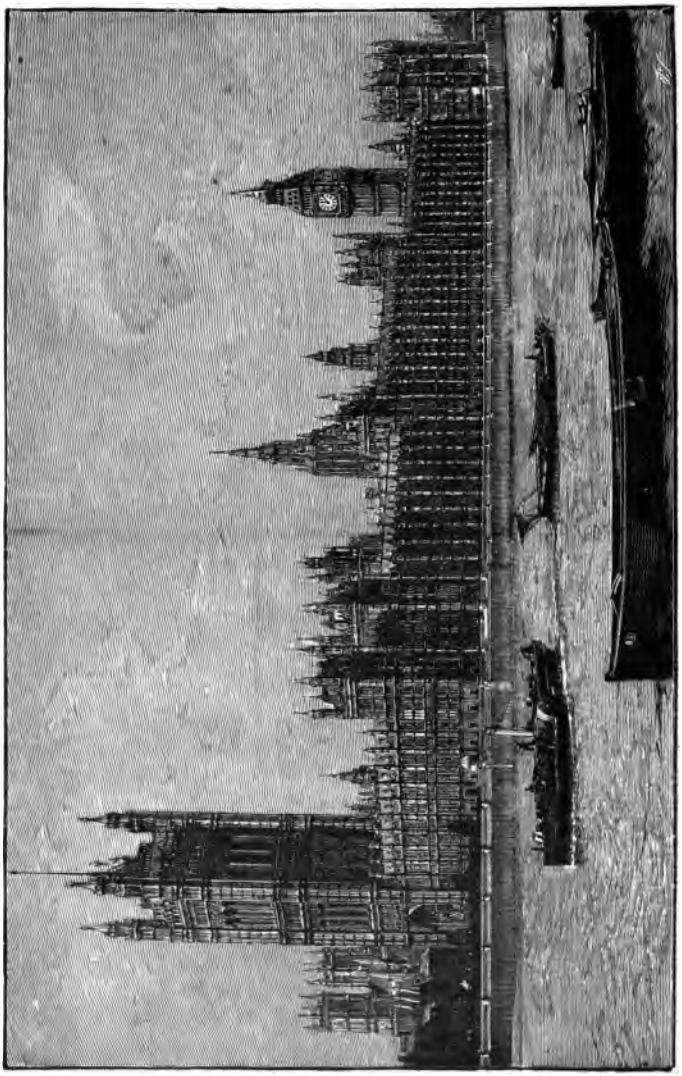

The new Houses of Parliament: designed by Barry, opened 1852.

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it over and asked the Government to reduce the postage on letters between all places in Great Britain and Ireland to a penny. The change, he declared, would be a great boon to the poor, and also in time increase instead of diminishing the revenue of the Government, as the number of letters written would be enormously greater than it had been under the old system. As, in consequence of the large increase of letters carried, the postmen would no longer have time to collect the pennies from the receivers, it would be necessary to charge them upon the senders, and this, Rowland Hill thought, could be done most conveniently by making them buy postage stamps, which had been before unknown. For some time the Post-Office officials and the ministers laughed at the scheme, but public opinion rose in its favour, and, in **1839**, the adoption of the new system was ordered, though it did not come into complete force till **1840**, up to which time there was a uniform charge of fourpence. The system of low payments and postage stamps has since been adopted by every country in the civilised world.

15. **Education. 1833—1839.**—At the time of the Reform Act general education was at a low ebb. In **1833** Parliament for the first time gave assistance to education by granting 20,000*l.* annually towards the building of school-houses. In **1839** this grant was increased to 30,000*l.*, and its distribution was placed under the direction of a Committee of the Privy Council, called the 'Committee of the Privy Council on Education,' in whose hands the management of public instruction has rested ever since. The Committee was not to teach, but to see that, where public money was employed, the teaching was satisfactory.

16. **The Queen's Marriage. 1840.**—In **1840** the queen married her first cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, a man of varied learning and accomplishments. What was of more importance, he brought with him affectionate devotion to his young wife, together with a tact and refinement of mind which made him her wisest counsellor. Knowing many things about which Englishmen at that time cared little, he did much towards the development of culture and art in the country.

17. **Palmerston and Spain. 1833—1839.**—The policy of friendship between England and France, which had led to the establishment of Belgian independence (see p. 912), had been continued by Lord Palmerston during the early stages of the second Melbourne ministry. Ferdinand VII. of Spain had for some time before his death in **1833** hesitated whether he should declare as his successor his little daughter Isabella—who, according to old

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Spanish law, was capable of inheriting—or his brother, Don Carlos, who claimed in virtue of the so-called Salic law (see p. 232) introduced by the Bourbons. On the side of Don Carlos were the priests, on the side of the child was her mother, and the dying man listened in the end to his wife rather than to the priests. Isabella became queen, and her mother, Christina, regent. The Basque Provinces and the priests and absolutists all over Spain took the side of Don Carlos, and a civil war marked by horrible cruelties on both sides was the result. As Don Carlos declared himself an absolute king, Christina was obliged, in word at least, to profess herself a constitutionalist. Louis Philippe and Palmerston would not interfere directly, but they agreed to interfere indirectly on behalf of Christina and Isabella: Louis Philippe by cutting off the supplies from the Carlists, Palmerston by allowing a British legion of 10,000 men to be enlisted for service against them. The legion fought well, but the Spanish Government did little for it, and it was dissolved in **1838**. The habit of interfering in Spanish quarrels led to a habit of interfering in Spanish politics, and as France and England often took opposite sides in supporting or assailing Spanish ministries, there gradually sprang up an unfortunate coolness between the two. Ultimately, in **1839**, the Carlists were overpowered, and there was no further question of foreign interference.

18. **Palmerston and the Eastern Question. 1831–1839.**—The results of the interference of England in the East were more momentous than the results of her interference in Spain. In **1831** Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, sent Ibrahim (see p. 884) to attack the Pasha of Acre. Ibrahim, against whom the Sultan, Mahmoud, sent a Turkish army in **1832**, not only defeated the Turks at Konieh, the ancient Iconium, but crossed the Taurus Mountains into Asia Minor and overthrew the last army which the Sultan could muster. Mahmoud, knowing that Constantinople itself was now at the mercy of the Egyptians, called on the Tzar, his old enemy, for aid. Accordingly, in **1833**, an arrangement was made at Kutaya by which Mehemet Ali stopped hostilities on receiving all Syria and the province of Adana in addition to his own Pashalic. Later in the same year, in reward for Russia's support, the Sultan signed the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, by which he bound himself to the Tzar to close the Dardanelles to foreign war ships whenever the Tzar was at war. If this treaty took effect the Russians would be able to train their sailors unmolested in the Black Sea, whilst they would be able to send their fleet out through

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the Dardanelles, and to bring it back to a place of safety whenever they pleased. Both England and France disliked this arrangement, but while Palmerston thought that the best remedy was the strengthening of the power of the Sultan, the French Government thought it better to strengthen Mehemet Ali, as being a more capable ruler than Mahmoud. In coming to this conclusion the French were no doubt influenced by the fact that Mehemet Ali employed many Frenchmen in his service. In 1839 the war between the Turks and the Egyptians broke out again, and neither England nor France could remain entirely unconcerned.

19. **Threatened Breach with France. 1839—1841.**—The war was disastrous to the Turks. The army of the Sultan was routed at Nisib. Sultan Mahmoud died before he heard the news, and was succeeded by his son, Abdul Medjid. The Turkish admiral at once sailed off with the fleet under his command, and handed it over at Alexandria to Mehemet Ali. Palmerston insisted that the Egyptians must be driven back, and in 1840, Russia, abandoning the advantages she had gained by the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, joined England, Austria, and Prussia in a quadruple Treaty, with the object of enforcing suitable terms on the belligerents. France, left out of the treaty, was deeply exasperated. There was wild talk of avenging Waterloo and reconquering the frontier of the Rhine. The French Prime Minister, Thiers, made every preparation for war. A British admiral, Sir Charles Napier, however, joined by an Austrian squadron, captured Acre, and Mehemet Ali abandoned Syria, receiving from the Sultan in return the hereditary government of Egypt, which he had hitherto held only for his own lifetime. Louis Philippe dismissed Thiers, and placed in office Guizot, a sworn foe to revolutionary projects and revolutionary wars. In 1841 all the powers, including Russia, substituted for the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi an agreement by which the Dardanelles was closed against the war ships of all nations unless the Sultan himself was at war. Time was thus allowed to the Turks to show whether they were capable, as Palmerston thought they were, of reforming their own government.

20. **Condition of the Poor. 1837—1841.**—The Reform Act of 1832 had brought into power the middle classes, and had been followed by such legislation as was satisfactory to those classes. Little had been done for the artisans and the poor, and their condition was most deplorable. A succession of bad seasons raised the price of wheat from a little ever 39*s.* a quarter in 1835 to a little over 70*s.* in 1839. Even if food had been cheap the masses dwelling in great cities were exposed to misery against which the

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law afforded no protection. Crowded and dirty as many of the dwellings of the poor still are, their condition was far worse early in the reign of Victoria. In Manchester, for instance, one-tenth of the population lived in cellars. Each of these cellars was reached through a small area, to which steps descended from a court, often flooded with stagnating filth. A person standing in one of these areas would, according to the statement of a contemporary writer, 'have his head about one foot below the level of the street, and might, at the same time, without the least motion of his body, touch the window of the cellar and the damp, muddy wall right opposite.' The cellar itself was dark, filled with a horrible stench. Here a whole family lived in a single room, the children lying on the 'damp, nay, wet, brick floor through which the stagnant moisture' oozed up. In Bethnal Green and other parts of the east end of London things were quite as bad. Overcrowding added to the horrors of such a life. One small cellar, measuring four yards by five, contained two rooms and eight persons, sleeping four in a bed. In some parts of the country similar evils prevailed. In one parish in Dorset thirty-six persons dwelt, on an average, in each house. All modesty was at an end under these miserable conditions. In one case—and the case was common enough—a father and mother, with their married daughter and her husband, a baby, a boy of sixteen, and two girls, all slept in a single room. People living in such a way were sure to be ignorant and vicious. They were badly paid, and even for their low wages were very much at the mercy of their employers. In spite of the law against 'truck,' as it was called, employers often persisted in paying their men in goods charged above their real prices instead of in money. In one instance a man was obliged to take a piece of cloth worth only 11*s.* in payment of his wages of 35*s.*

21. **The People's Charter. 1837—1840.**—Many remedies were proposed for these evils, but the one which caught the imagination of the workmen themselves was the People's Charter. The six points of the charter were (1) annual parliaments, (2) manhood suffrage, (3) vote by ballot, (4) equal electoral districts, (5) abolition of the property qualification for entering Parliament, and (6) payment for members of the House of Commons. Those who supported the charter thought that, as the acquisition of political power had enabled the middle classes to redress their grievances, the working class would in like way be able to redress theirs. They did not recognise the unfortunate truth that the working class still needed the political education without which political power is dangerous even to those who exercise it. In 1839 large meetings

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were held in support of the charter, and at these threats of appealing to violence, if no gentler means availed, were freely used. In **1839** a so-called 'National Convention,' composed of delegates from the workers of the large towns and led by Feargus O'Connor, a newspaper owner, and Ernest Jones, a barrister, sent a monster petition to Parliament. Parliament refused even to take it into consideration, and an increased bitterness of feeling was the result. A riot occurred at Birmingham: houses and shops were sacked, as if Birmingham had been a town taken by storm. The Government repressed these acts of violence by the operation of the ordinary law, without having recourse to those exceptional measures on which Sidmouth had fallen back thirty years before (see p. 880). The last deed of violence was an armed attack on Newport in Monmouthshire. Soldiers, brought to defend the place, fired upon the mob, and killed and wounded many. In **1840** the ringleaders were tried and condemned to death, though the Government commuted the sentence into transportation for life.

22. **The Anti-Corn-Law League. 1838—1840.**—The middle classes were not likely to be tolerant of violence and disorder, but there was one point on which their interests coincided with those of the working men. The high price of corn not only caused sufferings amongst the poor, but also injured trade. This high price was to a great extent owing to the Corn Law, which had been amended from time to time since it was passed in **1815** (see p. 875), and which continued to make corn dear by imposing heavy duties on imported corn whenever there was a good harvest in England, with the view of protecting the agriculturists against low prices. In **1838** an Anti-Corn-Law League was formed at Manchester in which the leading men were Richard Cobden, a master of clear and popular reasoning, whose knowledge of facts relating to the question was exhaustive, and John Bright, whose simple diction and stirring eloquence appealed to the feelings and the morality of his audience. In **1839** Charles Villiers, who took the lead of the Corn Law repealers in the House of Commons, was beaten by 342 votes to 195, but he had amongst his supporters Russell, Palmerston, and most of the prominent members of the Government. It was evident, however, that some time must elapse before a change so great could be accomplished, as the proposal was offensive to the agriculturists, who formed the main strength of the Conservative party. Moreover, the proposal to put an end to the Corn Law had still to make its way, by dint of argument, with the trading and working classes who were interested in its abolition.

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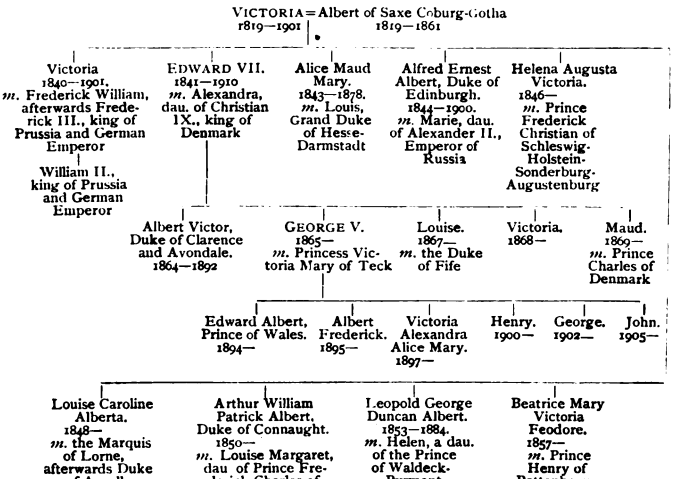
23. **The Fall of the Melbourne Ministry. 1841.**—The middle classes had grievances of their own against the ministry. They disliked financial disorder as well as physical violence, and, though the ministry had put down the latter, they had encouraged the former. Every year showed a deficit, and whilst the produce of the taxes was falling, the expenditure was increasing. In **1841** the ministry made an heroic effort to deal with the mischief by a movement in the direction of freedom of trade, proposing that there should be a fixed 8*s.* duty on every quarter of imported corn, whatever its price in England might be, in the place of the sliding scale varying with the price which had been adopted in **1822**. Peel opposed them on the ground that they had shown themselves too incompetent as financiers to be entrusted with the working of so large a scheme. The ministry was defeated in the House of Commons, and, after a dissolution, a new House was returned in which the Conservatives were in a majority of ninety-one. The discredited Melbourne ministry resigned, and Peel had no difficulty in forming a new ministry. There was no longer any difficulty about the Ladies of the Bedchamber. Now that the queen was married and in full enjoyment of the society of a husband whom she loved and trusted, she no longer objected to abandon the company of the Whig ladies whom, in **1839**, she had refused to dismiss.[1]

[1] Genealogy of the principal descendants of Queen Victoria :—



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CHAPTER LVIII

FREE TRADE. 1841—1852

LEADING DATES

Peel's second Ministry	1841–1846
Peel's first Free-trade Budget	1842
Peel's second Free-trade Budget	1845
Repeal of the Corn Law	1846
The Russell Ministry	1846–1852
European Revolutions	1848
The first Derby Ministry	1852

1. **Peel's New Ministry. 1841.**—In his new ministry Peel found room not only for leading Conservatives, but also for Stanley, Graham, and Ripon, who had left the Whigs in **1834**, and had since then voted with the Conservatives. Stanley—now Lord Stanley—and Graham were amongst the ablest of the ministers who formed the Cabinet; though the help of a young minister, Gladstone, who was not a member of the Cabinet, was especially valuable on account of his grasp of economical truths, and of the clearness with which his opinions were set forth.

2. **Peel's First Free-trade Budget. 1842.**—Peel's first great Budget was that of **1842**. He put an end to the deficit by carrying a measure re-imposing, for three years, an income-tax similar to that which Pitt had imposed to carry on the great war with France. He justified his action on the plea that it was necessary, in the first place, to stop the constantly recurring deficit; and, in the second place, to effect financial reforms which would enlarge the resources of the government. He consequently lowered many duties the main object of which had been the protection of home manufactures or agriculture. So far as the corn duties were concerned, he modified the sliding scale, but refused to effect any distinct reduction. The advocates of free-trade thought he had done too little, and those of protection thought he had done too much.

3. **Returning Prosperity. 1843–1844.**—During the next two years, **1843** and **1844**, Peel's budgets were not remarkable, as he did not wish to take any further step of importance till he had had time to watch the result of the budget of **1842**. The experience gained at the end of three years was in every way favourable, as it showed that manufactures really flourished more now that they had to face competition than they had done in its absence. No doubt

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the return of prosperity was partly owing to the good harvests which followed Peel's accession to power, but it was also in a great measure owing to his policy.

4. **Mines and Factories. 1842—1847.**—It would be of little worth to encourage manufactures, if those by whose labour they were produced were to be a miserable, vicious, and stunted population. In **1842**, a commission, appointed to examine into the condition of mines, reported that women and even young children were forced to drag heavy trucks underground, sometimes for twelve hours a day. Lord Ashley, foremost in every good work, and who had already alleviated the lot of factory children (see p. 911), induced Parliament to pass a bill which was not all that he wished, but which enacted that no woman or child under ten should be employed under ground, and that no child between ten and thirteen should be employed for more than three days a week. In **1844**, Graham passed an Act prohibiting the employment of children under nine in cotton and silk mills; but it was not till **1847** that, after a long struggle conducted by Lord Ashley, an Act was passed prohibiting the employment of women and children in all factories for more than ten hours a day. The arguments employed in favour of confining these restrictions to women and children were that they could not take care of themselves as well as men, and also that injuries done by overwork to the health of mothers and of young people, seriously affect the health and strength of future generations.

5. **Aberdeen's Foreign Policy. 1841—1846.**—The fall of the Melbourne ministry had been caused nearly as much by its foreign as by its domestic policy. Though Lord Palmerston had succeeded in getting his way in the East without bringing on a war with France (see p. 922), sober people were afraid lest he might sooner or later provoke war by his violent self-assertion. Peel's foreign minister, the Earl of Aberdeen, was always ready to give up something in order to secure the blessing of peace. In **1842** he put an end to a long dispute with the United States about the frontier between the English colonies and the State of Maine on the eastern side of America; and in **1846** he put an end to another dispute about the frontier of Oregon on the western side. With France, where Guizot was now Prime Minister, his relations were excessively cordial, and a close understanding grew up between the two governments, assuring the maintenance of European peace. The *entente cordiale*, as it was called, was ratified in **1843** by a visit of Queen Victoria to Louis Philippe, at Eu, and by a return visit paid by Louis Philippe to the Queen at Windsor in **1844**.

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These friendly relations enabled Aberdeen and Guizot to settle amicably a dispute arising out of the conduct of an English Consul at Tahiti, which might very easily have led to war.

6. **Peel and O'Connell. 1843.**—Each successive ministry was confronted with the problem of Irish government, and soon after Peel came into office the cry for the Repeal of the Union, which had died away during the Melbourne government, was once more loudly raised. In **1843**, O'Connell, instigated by younger men, such as Thomas Davis and Gavan Duffy, pushed the movement on, and predicted that Repeal would be carried before the year was over. He summoned a monster meeting at Clontarf, but before the appointed day the government prohibited the meeting and poured troops into Ireland to enforce the prohibition. O'Connell shrank from causing useless bloodshed, and advised his followers to keep away from the place of gathering. Though no attempt was made to hold the meeting, O'Connell was charged with sedition and conspiracy. Being convicted by a jury from which all Roman Catholics were excluded, he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a heavy fine. There were, however, technical errors in the proceedings, and the judgment was reversed in his favour by the House of Lords, or rather by the five lawyers who had seats in the House of Lords, and who alone decided legal appeals in the name of that House. Partly in consequence of the hopelessness of resisting the government, partly in consequence of the satisfaction felt in Ireland at the reversal of the judgment against O'Connell, the demand for Repeal once more died away, and the Irish leader, whose health was breaking, retired from public life, living quietly till his death at Genoa in **1847**.

7. **Peel's Irish Policy. 1843—1845.**—The main source of mischief in Ireland was to be found in the relations between landlord and tenant. Evictions on the one hand were answered by murder and outrage on the other. To check the latter Peel in **1843** passed an amended Arms Act, forbidding the possession of arms except by special license, whilst, to check the former, he issued, in **1844**, a commission, of which the Earl of Devon was chairman, to inquire into the grievances of Irish tenants. In **1845** he raised, amidst a storm of obloquy from many English Protestants, the government grant to the College of Maynooth, in which Roman Catholics were educated for the priesthood, from 9,000*l.* to 26,000*l.*, and established three Queen's Colleges to give unsectarian education to the laity. In **1845** the Devon Commission reported that in the three provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught the landlords were in most

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cases unable to make improvements on their land because the law prevented them from borrowing money on the security of their estates; and that they frequently let their lands to middlemen, who let it out again to tenants at will. Improvements, if made at all, were usually made by the tenant at will, though he was liable to be turned out of his holding without any compensation for what he had done to increase the value of the estate. The consequence was that the tenant rarely made any improvement at all, and that, when he did, he frequently either had his holding taken from him, or had his rent raised in consequence of his own improvements. In Ulster, on the other hand, there had grown up a custom of tenant right, and when a tenant left he received compensation for his improvements from the incoming tenant who took his place. In 1845 the government, finding that Ulster was peaceful whilst the other provinces were not, came to the conclusion that the Ulster tenant-right made the difference between them, and brought in a bill securing a limited amount of compensation to those tenants who made improvements duly certified to be of value. The House of Lords, however, refused to pass it, and for many years no further effort was made to improve the condition of the Irish tenant.

8. **Peel's Second Free-trade Budget. 1845.**—Peel was more successful in dealing with England. When in 1845 the three years for which the income-tax had been granted came to an end, Peel, instead of remitting it, obtained leave from Parliament to continue it for three more years; though, as a matter of fact, it was subsequently re-imposed and is still levied to this day. Peel, having received a surplus, employed it to sweep away a vast number of duties upon imports which weighed upon trade, and to lower other duties which he did not sweep away; whilst at the same time he put an entire end to all duties on exports. The country gentlemen who formed the large majority of Peel's supporters took alarm at a proposal made by him to remove the duties on lard and hides, on the ground that if this were done foreigners would, in regard to these two articles, be enabled to compete with English produce.

9. **Peel and Disraeli. 1845.**—The country gentlemen could grumble, but they were no match for Peel in debate; and they were therefore in a mood to transfer their allegiance to any man capable of heading an opposition in Parliament to the statesman whom they had hitherto followed. Such a spokesman they found in a young member, Benjamin Disraeli, who, after attempting to enter Parliament as a Radical, had been elected as a Conservative.

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His change of opinion was greater in appearance than in reality, as his principal motive, both as a Radical and as a Conservative, was hostility to the tendencies of the middle classes which he held to be embodied in the Whigs. He now discovered that the same tendencies were also embodied in Peel. Disraeli, indeed, never grasped the meaning of those doctrines of political economy which were in favour with the Whigs, and were growing in favour with Peel, and being moreover a man of great ambition, he seized the occasion to place himself at the head of the malcontent Conservatives, with the less difficulty because, in giving expression to their ignorance, he did not fling away any settled conviction of his own. He was the more angry with Peel because Peel had refused him office. Fixing upon Peel's weak point, his want of originality, he declared that the Prime Minister, having caught the Whigs bathing, had walked away with their clothes, and that under him a Conservative government was 'an organised hypocrisy.'

10. **Spread of the Anti-Corn-Law League. 1845.**—In the meanwhile, the Anti-Corn-Law League was growing in influence. The oratory of Bright and the close reasoning of Cobden were telling even on the agricultural population. The small farmers and the labourers were suffering whilst the manufacturers were flourishing. Peel, indeed, was a free-trader on principle. He believed that legislation ought to make goods cheap for the sake of consumers rather than dear for the sake of producers, and at this time he even believed that the nation would be wealthier if corn fell in price by being freely imported than if its price was raised by the imposition of duties. He still held, however, that it was the duty of Parliament to keep up the price of corn, not for the benefit of the existing generation, but as an insurance for future generations. If Great Britain came to depend for a great part of her food supply upon foreign countries, an enemy in time of war would have little difficulty in starving out the country by cutting off its supply of foreign food. The only answer to this was, that the starvation which Peel dreaded in the future was existing in the present. It was easy to say that the corn laws encouraged the production of food at home to support the population. As a plain matter of fact, the population had increased so rapidly that starvation was permanently established in the country. 'I be protected,' said an agricultural labourer at a meeting of the League, 'and I be starving.' If anything occurred to bring home to Peel the existence of this permanent starvation, he would become a free-trader in corn as well as in manufactures.

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11. **The Irish Famine. 1845.**—The conviction which Peel needed came from Ireland. The population was 8,000,000, and half of this number subsisted on potatoes alone. In the summer of **1845**, a potato disease, previously unknown, swept over both islands. Potato plants, green and flourishing at night, were in the morning a blackened and fetid mass of corruption. A misfortune which, in England and Scotland was a mere inconvenience, caused abject misery in Ireland.

12. **The Abolition of the Corn Law. 1845—1846.**—Peel saw that if the starving millions were to be fed, corn must be cheapened as much as possible, and that the only way of cheapening it was to take off the duty. In October he asked the Cabinet to support him in taking off the duty. The majority in it had minds less flexible than his own, and its decision was postponed. In November, Russell, now the leader of the Liberals, wrote what was known as 'the Edinburgh letter' to his constituents, declaring for the complete abolition of the Corn Law. Peel again attempted to induce the Cabinet to follow him, but the Cabinet again refused, and on December 5 he resigned office. Russell, however, was unable to form a ministry, and on December 20 Peel returned to office pledged to repeal the Corn Law. Lord Stanley now resigned, and became the acknowledged head of the Protectionists, who resolved to oppose Peel's forthcoming measure. On the other hand, Russell gave assurances that he and the Whigs would loyally support it. Accordingly, when Parliament met in January **1846**, Peel proposed to bring in a Bill for the abolition of the Corn Law, though three years were to pass before the abolition would be quite complete. On June 25, the Bill, having previously passed the Commons, passed the Lords, and an end was at last put to the long-continued attempt to raise by artificial means the price of bread.

13. **The Close of Peel's Ministry. 1846.**—Peel had done what he could to mitigate the distress in Ireland. He sent Indian corn there to be sold cheaply, and he ordered the establishment of public works to give means of subsistence to the starving population. The old antagonism between landlord and tenant, however, had not ceased, and evicted tenants and those who sympathised with them still had recourse to outrages and murder. Peel brought in a Bill for the protection of life in Ireland. Russell and the Liberals disliked it because it was too stringent. The Protectionists in the House of Commons, led nominally by Lord George Bentinck and really by Disraeli, were glad of any opportunity to

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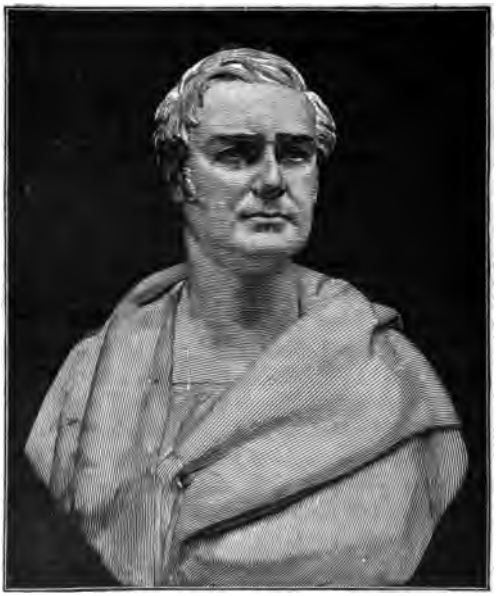
defeat Peel, and on June 25, the day on which the Corn Bill passed the Lords, the Irish Bill was thrown out by the Commons. On the 27th Peel resigned office.

14. **The Russell Ministry. 1846–1847.**—Lord John Russell had no difficulty this time in forming a ministry, and though his followers were in a minority in the House of Commons, he was sure of the support of Peel and of the Peelites, as those Conservatives were called who had voted with their leader for the abolition of



Sir Robert Peel: from the bust by Noble in the National Portrait Gallery.

the Corn Law. Russell had in 1846 to face a state of things in Ireland even more deplorable than that which had compelled his predecessor in 1845 to abandon Protection. In 1846, the failure of the potato crop was even more complete than it had been in 1845, and at the same time it was found that the system of public works established by Peel had led to gross abuses. Thousands of men who applied to mend the roads made them worse instead of better, whilst they neglected opportunities of working for private persons, because the public authorities exacted less work and gave

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higher pay than the private employer. Russell did what was possible to check these abuses, and in the session of **1847** he passed a Bill for enabling the guardians to give outdoor relief, which they had been forbidden to do by the Act which in **1838** established a Poor Law (see p. 917). Such a change in the law was imperatively demanded, as in the existing poor-houses there was only room for three out of every hundred starving persons.

15. **Irish Emigration. 1847.**—No poor law, however, could do more than mitigate the consequences of famine, especially as the slow forms of parliamentary procedure delayed the remedy, and as those who had to administer the new law were interested rather in keeping rates down than in saving life. The misery was too wide-spread to be much allayed by any remedy, and such English charity as was added to the relief provided by law was almost as ineffectual. Thousands perished by starvation, and many thousands more emigrated to America, many of them perishing on board ship from disease engendered in bodies enfeebled by previous want of nourishment. Those who reached America preserved and handed down to their children a hatred of the English name and government, to which they attributed their sufferings. By starvation and emigration the population of Ireland fell from 8,000,000 to 5,000,000.

16. **Landlord and Tenant in Ireland. 1847.**—Russell was statesman enough to perceive that the legal relations between landlord and tenant needed alteration, if the deep-seated causes of Irish misery were to be removed. Many of the landlords were hopelessly in debt. Out of a gross rental of 17,000,000*l.* 9,000,000*l.* was mortgaged, and the remaining 8,000,000*l.* was insufficient to provide for the support of the starving poor and to meet the expenses of the landlords. Impoverished landlords were consequently tempted to bear hardly on their tenants. Improvements in the English sense were few, but it often happened that a poor tenant on a wild hillside would erect a fence or clear off the stones from his rough farm, thus making it more productive than before. In too many cases the landlord, or more often the landlord's agent when the landlord was an absentee, pounced down on the struggling improver, and either forced him to pay a higher rent, or evicted him in order to replace him by someone who offered more. The evicted tenant not unfrequently revenged himself by murdering the landlord or his agent, or else the new tenant who had ousted him from his holding.

17. **The Encumbered Estates Act. 1848.**—Russell proposed

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to meet the evil by a double remedy. On the one hand he brought in a Bill which became law in **1848** as the Encumbered Estates Act, for the sale of deeply mortgaged estates to solvent purchasers, in the hope that the new landlords might be sufficiently well off to treat their tenants with consideration. At the same time he proposed another measure to compel landlords to compensate their evicted tenants for improvements which the tenants had themselves made, and he would gladly have supported a further measure which he did not venture even to introduce, forbidding the eviction of any tenant who had held land exceeding a quarter of an acre for more than five years, without compensation for the loss of his tenure. English opinion, however, prevented even the Bill for compensation for actual improvements from becoming law ; on the other hand, the Bill for buying out the owners of encumbered estates was readily passed, and was also accompanied by a Coercion Act, milder, indeed, than that which had been proposed by Peel (see p. 931). The Encumbered Estates Act standing alone was a curse rather than a blessing, as many of the indebted landowners had been easy-going, whereas many of the new landowners, having paid down ready money, thought themselves justified in applying purely commercial principles to their relations with the tenants, and exacted from them every penny that could be wrung from men who had no protection for the results of their own industry upon the soil. Those who suffered smarted from a sense of wrong, which in **1848** became stronger and more likely to lead to acts of violence, because in that year the course of affairs in Europe gave superabundant examples of successful resistance to governments.

18. **European Revolution. 1848.**—The year **1848** was a year of European revolution. France expelled Louis Philippe, and established a second republic, based on universal suffrage. In Italy, not only were constitutional reforms forced on the governments, but Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, led an armed attack on the Austrian power in Lombardy and Venice, by which the despotism of the petty sovereigns of Italy had been bolstered up. In Germany, a parliament met at Frankfurt to devise some scheme for uniting in closer bonds the loose confederation which had been established in **1815** (see p. 873), whilst revolutions at Berlin and Vienna led to the adoption of a constitutional system in Prussia and Austria. The demand for constitutional government was everywhere put forth. In France it was associated with socialism ; and an attempt was made to set up national workshops in which every artisan

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might find work. In that country, however, there was no aggressive spirit as in 1792, and no attempt was made to change the frontiers of the State. In central Europe and in Italy, on the other hand, dissatisfaction with existing frontiers was the prominent feature. The peoples were there eager to see real nations, of which the component parts were bound together by the tie of common attachment, taking the place of artificial states the creations of past wars and treaties. Hence the populations of the Italian States drew together in a desire for the expulsion of the Austrians, and the populations of the German states drew together in a desire to give a common government to the German nation. In the heterogeneous Austrian empire, however, the idea of nationality acted as a dissolvent. Austrians, Hungarians, and Slavs, who together formed the vast majority of the population, had no love for each other, and before the end of the year Austria and Hungary were at open war.

19. **Renewed Trouble in Ireland. 1848.**—In Ireland, a number of young men imagined that they could play the part in which O'Connell had failed, and raise up armed resistance against England. One of these, Smith O'Brien, tried to put in practice their teaching by attacking a police station, but he was easily captured, and no attempt was made to follow his example.

20. **The Chartists on Kennington Common. 1848.**—In England the Chartists thought the time had come to gain that supremacy for the mass of the nation which had been gained in France. Their leader, Feargus O'Connor, a half-mad member of Parliament, called on enormous numbers of them to meet on April 10 on Kennington Common,[1] and to carry to the House of Commons a monster petition for the Charter, said to be signed by 5,700,000 persons. The government declared the design to be illegal, as crowds are forbidden by law to present petitions, and called on all who would, to serve as special constables—that is to say, to act as policemen for the day. No less than 200,000 enrolled themselves, whereas, when the appointed day came, no more than 25,000 persons assembled on Kennington Common, many of whom were not Chartists. Those who were Chartists formed a procession intending to cross Westminster Bridge. The Duke of Wellington had posted soldiers in the houses on the Middlesex side of the bridge, to be used in case of necessity, but he left the special constables to stop the procession. This they did without difficulty. There was, however, no attempt to stop the presentation of the petition, which was carried in a cab to the

[1] Now Kennington Park.

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House of Commons, and found to bear 2,000 signatures. Many columns of these were, however, in the same handwriting, and some who actually signed it, wrote the names of celebrated persons, such as Prince Albert and the Duke of Wellington, instead of their own. Others called themselves Pugnose, Woodenlegs, Bread-and-cheese, and so forth. For all this there was a large number of Chartists in England; but, on the other hand, there was a still larger number of persons who were resolved that, whatever changes might be made in the constitution, they should not be brought about by the exertion of physical force.

21. **European reaction. 1848—1849.**—The attempt to change existing European order failed as completely on the Continent as it did in England. In December, **1848**, the French nation elected Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a nephew of the first Napoleon, as President for ten years, on the expectation that he would give to the country a quiet and orderly government. Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, taking up arms to drive the Austrians out of Italy, was defeated by them at Custozza in **1848**, and at Novara in **1849**. After these successive failures he was forced to abdicate in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II., who maintained constitutional government in his own kingdom of Sardinia, whilst the Austrians regained Lombardy and Venetia, and restored the absolute governments in the other Italian states, except in the Papal dominions, where a French army restored the absolute government of the Pope. In Germany the Frankfurt parliament tried to erect a constitutional empire, and was dissolved by force. In Prussia, the King, Frederick William IV., got the better of the revolution, though he established a Parliament which, for the present at least, he was able to control. In the Austrian Empire the war between Austria and Hungary was brought to an end by the intervention of a Russian army in favour of Austria, and the constitution of Hungary was abolished. By the end of **1848** reaction prevailed over the whole Continent.

22. **The Decline of the Russell Ministry. 1848—1851.**—In England the ministry was supported, not merely as the representative of order against turbulence, but also as the representative of free-trade against protection. In **1849** the Navigation Act (see pp. 565, 589) was repealed, and foreign shipping admitted to compete with English. Yet the government only maintained itself by depending on the votes of the Peelites, and in **1850** Peel unfortunately died in consequence of a fall from his horse. Later in the year the Pope appointed Roman Catholic bishops to English sees,

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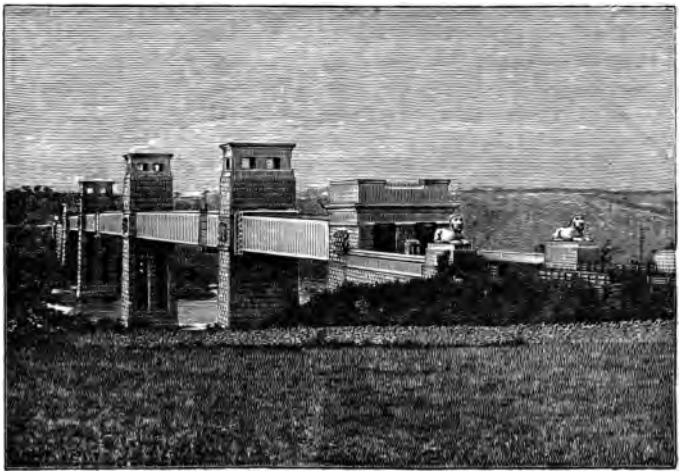
and an excited public opinion saw in this an attack on the Queen's authority. In **1851** Russell introduced an Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, declaring all acts done by the Roman Catholic bishops, and all deeds bestowing property to them under the new titles, to be null and void. This Bill alienated the Peelites and advanced Liberals like Bright and Cobden. In February the ministry resisted a proposal to lower the county franchise, and resigned. Lord Stanley, however, declined to form a ministry, and Russell and his followers returned to office. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was passed in a



The Britannia Tubular Railway Bridge over the Menai Strait: designed by Robert Stephenson, opened in 1850.

modified form, but it was never in a single instance put in execution and was ultimately repealed.

23. **The Great Exhibition. 1851.**—In **1851** people thought less of politics than of the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, where the produce of the world was to be seen in the enormous glass house known as the Crystal Palace—afterwards removed to Penge Hill. The Exhibition was a useful undertaking suggested by Prince Albert, and it served its purpose in teaching English manufacturers that they might improve their own work by studying the work of foreigners. Many people thought that crowds of revolutionists, who would come under pretence of seeing the exhibition, would set London on fire. Others thought that the nations of Europe would

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be so knit together by commercial interests that there would be no more wars.

24. **The End of the Russell Ministry. 1851—1852.**—On December 2, 1851, Louis Napoleon dissolved the Assembly, put most of the leading French politicians in prison, and marched soldiers into the streets of Paris to shoot all who resisted him. He then asked the French people to name him President for ten years, with institutions which made him practically the master of the State. The French people, frightened at anarchy, gave him what he asked. In England, Lord Palmerston not only approved of the proceeding, but expressed his approval to the French ambassador, though the Cabinet was for absolute neutrality; whereupon he was dismissed from office. Early in 1852 he took his revenge by declaring against the ministry on a detail in a militia bill. The ministers, finding themselves in a minority, resigned office.

25. **The First Derby Ministry. 1852.**—Lord Stanley, who had recently become Earl of Derby by his father's death, now formed a ministry out of the Protectionist party, and declared that the question whether free-trade or protection should prevail was one to be settled by a new parliament to be elected in the summer of 1852. The real master of the government was Disraeli, who had succeeded to the nominal as well as to the actual leadership of his party in the House of Commons upon the death of Lord George Bentinck in 1848, and who now became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Disraeli knew well that the feeling of the country was in favour of free-trade, and he astonished his colleagues and supporters by declaring his admiration of its blessings. The elections, when they took place, left the government in a minority. On the meeting of the new Parliament, the first question needing solution was whether the dissensions between Russell and Palmerston, and between the Whigs and Peelites, could be made up so as to form a united opposition, and the second, whether the government could contrive to renounce Protection without complete loss of dignity. The Duke of Wellington had died before Parliament met, and his death served to remind people how he had again and again abandoned political positions with credit, by stating with perfect frankness that his opinions were unchanged, but that circumstances made it no longer possible or desirable to give effect to them.

26. **The Burial of Protection. 1852.**—Soon after the meeting of Parliament, Villiers, the old champion of free trade (see p. 924), brought forward a resolution, declaring the repeal of the Corn Laws to have been 'wise, just, and beneficial.' Those who had once

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been Protectionists, shrank from condemning so distinctly a policy which they had formerly defended; but when Palmerston came to their help by proposing in a less offensive form a resolution which meant much the same as that of Villiers, he was supported by the greater number of them, and his motion was carried with only fifty-three dissentients. Disraeli then brought forward an ingenious budget, which was rejected by the House, upon which the Derby ministry resigned. If Disraeli had not succeeded in maintaining his party in power, at least he had freed it from the unpopular burden of attachment to protection, and had made it capable of rising to power in the future. Before he left office Louis Napoleon became, by a popular vote, Napoleon III. Emperor of the French.

CHAPTER LIX

THE CRIMEAN WAR AND THE INDIAN MUTINY. 1852—1858

LEADING DATES

The Aberdeen Ministry	1852
War between Russia and Turkey	1853
France and England at War with Russia	1854
Battle of the Alma	Sept. 20, 1854
Battle of Inkerman	Nov. 5, 1854
Capture of Sebastopol	Sept. 8, 1855
Peace of Paris	March 30, 1857
Outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny at Meerut	May 10, 1857
Capture of Delhi	Sept. 14-20, 1857
Relief of Lucknow by Havelock and Outram	Sept. 25, 1857
End of the Indian Mutiny	1858

1. **Expectation of Peace. 1852.**—Since the accession to power of Lord Grey's ministry in **1830**, the opinions of Bentham (see p. 890) had gained the upper hand, and the greatest happiness of the greatest number had become the inspiring thought of statesmen. Free trade was regarded, not merely as desirable because it averted starvation, but as uniting nations together in commercial bonds. Nothing was more common in **1851** and **1852** than to heat sensible men predict that the era of wars was past, and that nations trafficking with one another would have no motive for engaging in strife. The fierce passions evoked by the struggles for nationality in **1848** were forgotten, and a time of peace and prosperity regarded as permanently established.

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2. **Church Movements. 1827—1853.**—There had, indeed, been signs that it was impossible to bring all men to forsake the pursuit of ideal truth. In **1827** Keble published the first edition of the *Christian Year*, and in the following years a body of writers at Oxford, of whom the most prominent were Newman and Pusey, did their best to inspire the rising generation with the belief that the Church of England had a life of its own independent of the State or of Society, and that its true doctrines were those which had been taught in the earlier centuries of the Church's existence. Their teaching was not unlike that of Laud (see p. 520), though without Laud's leaning upon the State, and with a reverence for the great mediæval ecclesiastics and their teaching which Laud had not possessed. In Scotland, reaction against State interference took another turn. Large numbers of the Scottish clergy and people objected to the system by which lay patrons had in their hands the appointment of ministers to Church livings, and in **1843** no less than 474 ministers threw up their livings and, followed by numerous congregations, formed the Free Church of Scotland. Different as were the movements in the two countries, they had this in common, that they regarded religion as something more than the creature of law and Parliament.

3. **Growth of Science. 1830—1859.**—Other men sought their ideals in science, and though scientific men did not meddle with politics, their work was not only productive of an increase of material comfort, but also permeated the minds of unscientific persons with a belief in natural law and order, which steadied them when they came to deal with the complex facts of human life. The rapid growth of railways, especially after **1844**, the introduction of the electric telegraph in **1837**, and other practical results of scientific discovery, prepared the way for a favourable reception of doctrines such as those announced in Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, the first edition of which was published in **1830**, where the formation of the earth's surface was traced to a series of gradual changes similar to those in action at the present day. Darwin's *Origin of Species*, in which the multiplicity of living forms were accounted for by permanent natural causes, did not appear till **1859**.

4. **Dickens, Thackeray, and Macaulay. 1837—1848.**—The feelings and opinions of the age were, as is usually the case, reflected in its literature. Dickens, whose first considerable work, *The Pickwick Papers*, appeared in **1837**, painted humorously the lives of the middle classes, which had obtained political power through the Reform Act of **1832**; and Thackeray, whose *Vanity Fair* was

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published in **1848**, lashed the vices of great and wealthy sinners, principally of those who had held a high place in the society of the preceding generations, though he delighted in painting the gentleness and self-denial of men, and still more of women of a lower station. For him the halo of glory with which Scott had crowned the past had disappeared. Amongst the historians of this period, by far the greatest is Macaulay, whose history of England began to appear in **1848**, the year in which *Vanity Fair* was published. In him was to be found a massive common-sense in applying the political judgments of the day to the events of past times, combined with an inability to grasp sympathetically the opinions of those who had struggled against the social and political movements out of which the life of the nineteenth century had been developed. As for the future, Macaulay had no such dissatisfaction with life around him as to crave for further organic change. Piecemeal reforms he welcomed gladly, but he had no wish to alter the political basis of society. The Reform Act of **1832** gave him all that he desired.

5. **Grote, Mill, and Carlyle. 1833—1856.**—There were not wanting writers who saw the weak points of that rule of the middle classes which seemed so excellent to Macaulay. Grote's *History of Greece*, which was published at intervals from **1845** to **1856**, was in reality a panegyric on the democracy of Athens and, by implication, a pleading in favour of democracy in England. Mill, whose *System of Logic* appeared in **1843**, expounded the utilitarian philosophy of Bentham, accompanying his scientific teaching with the expression of hopefulness in the growth of democracy as likely to lead to better government. The man, however, whose teaching did most to rouse the age to a sense of the insufficiency of its work was Thomas Carlyle, whose *Sartor Resartus* began to appear in **1833**, and who detested alike the middle-class Parliamentary government dear to Macaulay, and the democratic government dear to Grote and Mill. He was the prophet of duty. Each individual was to set himself resolutely to despise the conventions of the world, and to conform to the utmost of his power to the divine laws of the world. Those who did this most completely were heroes, to whom and not to Parliamentary majorities or scientific deductions, reverence and obedience were due. The negative part of Carlyle's teaching—its condemnation of democracy and science—made no impression. The positive part fixed itself upon the mind of the young, thousands of whom learnt from it to follow the call of duty, and to obey her behests.

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St. George's Hall, Liverpool: designed by Elmes, completed in 1859.

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6. **Tennyson. 1849.**—The best poetry of the time reflected in a milder way the teaching of Carlyle. Tennyson, whose most thoughtful work, *In Memoriam*, appeared in **1849**, is filled with a sense of the pre-eminence of duty, combined with a reverent religious feeling and a respect for the teaching of science which was then bursting on the world. The opening lines of *In Memoriam* give the key-note of the teaching of a master who held out the hand to Carlyle on the one hand, and to Keble and Newman on the other.

> Strong Son of God, immortal love
> Whom we, that have not seen thy face,
> By faith, and faith alone, embrace,
> Believing where we cannot prove;
> . . . . . .
> Thou seemest human and divine,
> The holiest, highest manhood, thou;
> Our wills are ours, we know not how,
> Our wills are ours, to make them thine.

7. **Turner. 1775—1851.**—The pursuit of the knowledge of the secret processes and the open manifestations of nature, which placed its stamp upon the science and the literature of the time, made itself also visible in its art. No man ever revealed in landscape-painting the infinity of the natural world and the subtleness of its gradations, as did Turner in the days of his strength, before his eyes fixed on the glory of the atmosphere and the sky lost perception of the beauty of the earth.

8. **The beginning of the Aberdeen Ministry. 1852—1854.**—The Derby Ministry was followed by a coalition ministry of Liberals and Peelites under the Earl of Aberdeen. At first it seemed as if Parliament was about to settle down to a series of internal reforms. In **1853**, Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, produced a budget which proved generally acceptable, and Russell promised a new Reform Bill which was actually brought forward in **1854**, though by that time circumstances having become adverse to its consideration caused its prompt withdrawal.

9. **The Eastern Question. 1850—1853.**—For some time there had been a diplomatic struggle between France and Russia for the possession of certain holy places in Palestine by the clergy of their respective churches, and though in **1852** the Sultan proposed a compromise, neither party was satisfied. In the beginning of **1853**, the Tzar Nicholas spoke to Sir Hamilton Seymour of 'the Turk' as a sick man, and proposed that if he died, that is to say, if the Turkish power fell to pieces, England should take Crete and

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Egypt, and that the Sultan's European provinces should be formed into independent states, of course under Russian protection. There can be no doubt that the Christians under the Sultan were misgoverned, and that the Tzar, like every Russian, honestly sympathised with them, especially as they belonged to the Orthodox Church—commonly known as the Greek Church—which was his own. It was, however, also true that every Tzar wished to extend his dominions southward, and that his sympathies undoubtedly tended in the same direction as his ambition. In England the sympathies were ignored, whilst the ambition was clearly perceived, and the British ministers refused to agree to Nicholas's proposal. Nicholas then sent Prince Menschikoff as ambassador to Constantinople to demand that the protection of the Sultan's Christian subjects should be given over to himself, and when this was refused, occupied the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia with his troops; upon which a British fleet was moved up to the entrance of the Dardanelles.

10. **War between Russia and Turkey. 1853—1854.**—To avert an outbreak of war the four great Powers, Austria, France, Great Britain, and Prussia, in what is usually called the Vienna note, embodied a proposal, which, if adopted by the Sultan, would convey his promise to the Tzar to protect the Christians of the Greek Church as his predecessors had promised to do in older treaties with the Tzars, and to extend to the Greek Christians all advantages granted to other Christians. With this note the Tzar was contented, but the Sultan urged on by the imperious Sir Stratford Canning, the British ambassador at Constantinople, refused to accept it without alteration, and on the Tzar insisting on its acceptance as it stood declared war upon him. In the autumn the Turks crossed the Danube and defeated some Russian troops, on which the Russian fleet sallied forth from Sebastopol, the great Russian fortified harbour in the Crimea, and on November 30 destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope. In England strong indignation was felt; England and France bound themselves closely together, and, refusing to be held back by Austria and Prussia, entered upon war with Russia in March 1854. In May the Russians laid siege to Silistria on the south bank of the Danube. The siege however ended in failure, and, as a British and French army arrived at Varna, a seaport on the Black Sea, south of the mouth of the Danube, and as the Austrians insisted on the Russians evacuating Moldavia and Wallachia, the Russian army drew back to its own territory, and abandoned any further attempt to enforce its claims by invasion.

11. **Resolution of the Allies. 1854.**—Two courses were now

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open to the Allies. They might knit themselves again to Austria and Prussia and substitute a European protection of the Christians under the Sultan for a merely Russian protection, without driving Russia to a prolongation of the war; or else, breaking loose from their alliance with Austria and Prussia (neither of which was inclined to drive matters to extremities), they might seek to destroy the Russian Black Sea fleet and the fortifications of Sebastopol, in order to take from Russia the power of again threatening the Turks. Public opinion in England was defiantly set upon the latter course. There was exasperation against the ambition of Russia and a determination that the work should be thoroughly done. To the support of this passionate desire to carry on the war to its end, came a misconception of the nature of the Turkish Government. In reality the Turk was, as Nicholas had said, a sick man, and as he would become weaker every year, it was impossible to provide for his guarding his own even if Sebastopol were destroyed. In England the Government of the Sultan was regarded as well-intentioned and perfectly capable of holding its own, if the existing danger could be removed. This view of the case was strongly supported by Palmerston, who, though he was no longer foreign minister, brought his strong will to bear on the resolutions of the ministry. England and France resolved on transporting their armies from Varna to the Crimea. The English force was commanded by Lord Raglan, and the French by Marshal St. Arnaud.

12. **Alma and Sebastopol. 1854.**—On September 14, the two armies, numbering together with a body of Turkish soldiers about 61,000 men, landed to the south of Eupatoria. They marched southwards and found the Russian army drawn up on high ground beyond the river Alma. There was not much skill shown by the generals on either side, but the Allies had the better weapons, and the dogged persistence of the British contributed much to the success of the Allies. The Russians were defeated, and the Allies wheeled round the harbour of Sebastopol and established themselves on the plateau to the south of the town. There was inside the place a vast store of guns and of everything needed for the defence, and what was more, a man of genius, General Todleben, to improve the fortifications and direct the movements of the garrison. He closed the harbour against the Allied fleets by sinking ships at the mouth, and he brought up guns and raised earthworks to resist the impending attack on the land side. On October 17, the Allies opened a tremendous fire. The British batteries destroyed the guns opposed to them, and the place might perhaps have been taken by assault if the French had done as well. The

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French, however, who were now under the command of Marshal Canrobert—St. Arnaud having died after the battle of the Alma—made their magazines of gunpowder too near the surface of the ground, and when one of them exploded, their efforts were rendered useless. The attack had to be postponed for an indefinite time.

13. **Balaclava and Inkerman. 1854.**—The stores and provisions for the British army were landed at the little port of Balaclava. On October 25, a Russian army pushed forward to cut off communication between this port and the British force before Sebastopol. A charge by the Brigade of Heavy Cavalry drove back a huge mass of Russian horsemen. Lord Cardigan, who commanded the Brigade of Light Cavalry, received an order vaguely worded to retake some guns which had been captured by the Russians. The order was misunderstood, and the Light Brigade, knowing that it was riding to its destruction, but refusing to set an example of disobedience, charged not in the direction of the guns, which they were unable to see, but into the very centre of the Russian army. The ranks of the English cavalry were mown down and but few escaped alive. 'It is magnificent,' said a French general, 'but it is not war.' On November 5, the battle of Inkerman was fought, in which the scanty British drove back thick columns of Russians. If the Russians had prevailed, both the Allied armies would have been destroyed. As it was the British held out against fearful odds, till the French came to their help, and forced the Russians to retreat.

14. **Winter in the Crimea. 1854—1855.**—Winter was now upon the armies. It had been supposed at home that their task would be accomplished before the fine weather ended, and no adequate provision for a winter season had been made. A storm swept over the Black Sea and wrecked vessels laden with stores. The soldiers had only tents to keep off the rain and bitter cold, and fell ill by hundreds. The horses, which should have brought stores from Balaclava, died, and it was useless to replace them, because, though large numbers of horses were obtainable, forage had not been sent from home to keep them alive. What provisions reached the camp had to be carried by the men, and the men were worn out by having to spend long hours in guarding the trenches and to fetch provisions as well. Besides, the English Government, having had no experience of war, committed many blunders in their arrangements for the supply of the army. The French were better off, because Kamiesch Bay, where their provisions were landed, was nearer their camp than Balaclava was to the camp of the British.

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15. **The Hospital at Scutari. 1855.**—The sick were carried to a hospital at Scutari near Constantinople, but when they arrived there were no nurses to attend on them, and large numbers died. After a while Miss Florence Nightingale was sent out with other ladies to nurse the sick. It was the first time that women had been employed as nurses in war. Miss Nightingale soon reduced the disorder into order, made the place clean, and saw that the sufferers were skilfully tended. Good nursing at once told on the health of the men, and valuable lives were spared in consequence of the gentle help received.

16. **The Palmerston Ministry. 1855.**—At home Englishmen looked on the misery in the Crimea with growing anger. They thought that some one was to blame, and as soon as Parliament met, the Government was forced to resign. Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister. It was known that his whole heart was in the war, and that he was a man of strong common sense and resolute character. Matters in the Crimea began to improve, principally because by that time English officials had begun, after numerous failures, to understand their duties.

17. **The Fall of Sebastopol and the End of the War. 1855—1856.**—During the summer the siege of Sebastopol was pushed on. The British army was in good condition. The French troops were, however, more numerous, and occupied the positions from which the town could be most easily attacked. They had, too, a new commander, Marshal Pelissier, who was more strong-willed than Canrobert had been. The King of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel, joined the Allies, and in the battle of Trakir [1] his troops took part with the French in driving back a fresh Russian onslaught. After various attempts a final attack on Sebastopol was made on September 8. The English failed to capture the Redan which was opposed to them, but the French stormed the Malakhoff Tower, and the whole of the fortifications were thereby rendered untenable. The Tzar Nicholas had died in the spring, and his successor, Alexander II., was now ready to make peace. The

The Victoria Cross: instituted in 1856.

[1] *Trakir* is the Russian word for an inn.

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Russian losses had been enormous, not merely in Sebastopol itself, but over the whole of the empire. There was scarcely a railway in Russia then, and hundreds of thousands of men had perished of fatigue in the long and exhausting marches. In March **1856** peace was made. The fortifications of Sebastopol were destroyed, and Russia promised not to have a fleet in the Black Sea or to re-fortify the town. The Russians abode by these terms as long as they were obliged to do so, and no longer. It was, however, long enough to give the Turks time to improve and strengthen their government if they had been capable of carrying out reforms of any kind.

18. **India after Wellesley's Recall. 1805—1823.**—British hostility to Russia had arisen chiefly from fear lest she should, by gaining possession of Constantinople, cut off the passage to India. Alarm on this score had not been of recent growth. Partly in consequence of a desire to win the attachment of the natives of India as a security against foreign aggression, successive governors-general had, since Wellesley left India in **1805** (see p. 859), devoted themselves to improve the condition of the people, and had for some time abstained from war as much as possible. Their reluctance to appeal to arms had, however, encouraged bands of plunderers known as Pindarrees, supported by the Mahratta chiefs whose power Wellesley had curtailed, but who still retained their independence. In **1817** the Marquis of Hastings, at that time governor-general, began the third Mahratta War (see pp. 804, 859). The Peishwah (see p. 802) abdicated in favour of the British, and the other Mahratta chiefs were reduced to a condition of dependency, and gave no more shelter to robbers. Hastings completed Wellesley's work, by making the power of the East India Company absolutely predominant, and, after **1823**, when he left India, there were, indeed, wars occasionally on a small scale, but for some years the chief feature of Indian history was its peaceful progress.

19. **The North-Western Frontier. 1806—1835.**—The suppression of internal disorder did not relieve the Government of India from anxiety lest increasing prosperity within should tempt invaders from without. Secured on the north by the lofty wall of the Himalayas, India, until the arrival of the British by sea, had always been invaded by enemies pouring across its north-western frontier from the passes of the highlands of Afghanistan; and it was from the same quarter that danger was now feared. For some time, indeed, a sufficient bulwark had been erected by the estab-

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lishment in the Punjab—the land of the five rivers—of the Sikhs, a warlike people with a special religion, neither Mahomedan nor Hindoo. The Sikhs were strongly organised for military purposes under a capable ruler, Runjeet Singh, who had entered in **1806** into a treaty with the British which to the end of his life he faithfully observed. Under him the Sikhs covered the British territory from an attack through Afghanistan, much in the same way that in the time of Warren Hastings the Nawab of Oude had covered it against the attacks of the Mahrattas (see p. 802).

20. **Russia and Afghanistan. 1835—1838.**—In **1835**, when England and Russia were striving for the mastery at Constantinople (see p. 921), the two countries were necessarily thrown into opposition in Asia. In **1837** the Shah of Persia, who was under Russian influence, laid siege to Herat, on the eastern border of his own country. As Herat was on the road to India, Lord Auckland, the governor-general, took alarm, and, even before the siege was actually begun, sent an agent, Alexander Burnes, to Cabul to win over Dost Mahommed, the ruler of Afghanistan, to enter into an alliance with England against Persia, the ally of Russia. Burnes, knowing that soft words would not suffice to gain the heart of Dost Mahommed, offered him British aid in his own quarrels. Auckland, however, refused to carry out the engagement made by Burnes, on which Dost Mahommed, taking offence, allied himself with Russia. In **1838**, Auckland sent an expedition to dethrone Dost Mahommed, and to replace him by Shah Soojah, an Afghan prince who had been living in exile in India. Before the expedition started the siege of Herat had been raised by the Persians, and there was, therefore, no longer any real excuse for an attack on the fierce and warlike Afghans.

21. **The Invasion of Afghanistan. 1839—1842.**—Nevertheless the British army entered Afghanistan in **1839**, and, reaching Cabul in safety, placed Shah Soojah on the throne. In **1840**, Dost Mahommed knowing that he could not carry on a successful resistance in the field, surrendered himself as a prisoner. So peaceful was the outlook that Sir William Macnaghten, who had charge of the political arrangements at Cabul, fancied that all danger was at an end. Suddenly, however, an insurrection broke out, and some of the British officers, amongst whom was Burnes, were murdered. Though the British were taken by surprise, they had still soldiers enough to attack the Afghans with every prospect of success, but General Elphinstone, who was in command, refused to run the risk. On this the Afghans became still more daring,

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and, as food was growing short in the British cantonments, Macnaghten and Elphinstone offered to surrender the forts of Cabul to the enemy on condition of being supplied with provisions. Akbar Khan, a son of Dost Mahommed, invited Macnaghten to a conference and shot him dead with his own hand. The British officers then entered on a treaty with the murderer, who engaged to protect their army, if it would immediately return to India.

22. **The Retreat from Cabul. 1842.**—The retreat began on January 6, 1842. Snow and ice lay thickly on the passes over the lofty mountain ranges, which had to be climbed before the plains of India were reached. Akbar Khan did what he could to protect the retreating regiments, but he could not restrain his followers. Crowds of Afghans stationed themselves on the rocks which rose above the track, and shot down the fugitives. With the retreating soldiers were English ladies, some of them with children to care for. To save them from certain death they were surrendered to Akbar Khan, who promised to treat them kindly, and who, to his credit, kept his word. After five days' march, out of 14,500 men who left Cabul, no more than 4,000 remained alive. Each day the butchery was renewed. On the morning of the eighth day only sixty-five were left, and this scanty remnant of a mighty host struggled on to reach Jellalabad in which there was a British garrison. Of these, sixty-four were slain on the way; after which the Afghans, believing that all their enemies had perished, returned in triumph. One Englishman, however, Dr. Brydon, who had lagged behind because both he and the pony on which he rode were too exhausted to keep up with the march, escaped their notice. Fainting and scarcely able to speak, he at last stumbled into Jellalabad, and told the tale of the great disaster.

23. **Pollock's March to Cabul. 1842.**—Jellalabad held out against all the Afghans who could be brought against it. Then General Pollock was sent to retrieve the honour of the British arms. He occupied Cabul, but he had to replace Dost Mahommed on the throne, and to content himself with recovering the British captives.

24. **Conquest of Sindh. 1842.**—Lord Ellenborough, who had succeeded Auckland as governor-general, coveted Sindh, because he wished to control the lower course of the Indus. He brought accusations of treachery against the Ameers who ruled it, some of which appear to have been based on forged letters. He then sent against the Ameers Sir Charles Napier, who, fighting against tremendous odds, defeated them at Meanee. Sindh was annexed,

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and its inhabitants, being far better governed than before, rapidly became prosperous and contented.

25. **The First Sikh War. 1845—1846.**—Runjeet Singh (see p. 949), 'the lion of the Punjab,' as he was called, died in **1839**. His succession was disputed, and the Government really fell into the hands of the Sikh army, which raised to power one competitor after another amidst scenes of bloodshed. The governor-general, Sir Henry Hardinge, himself a soldier, had succeeded Ellenborough in 1843. He was anxious to keep the peace, but the mutinous Sikh army was under no restraint, and on December 11, **1845**, it crossed the Sutlej and poured into British territory. Never had a British army in India met antagonists so formidable. Yet in two fierce battles, at Ferozeshah and Moodkee, the invaders were repulsed by Sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief. The Sikhs, however, were not disheartened. In January **1846**, they were again defeated by Sir Harry Smith at Aliwal, and finally on February 8, their entrenched camp at Sobraon, on the Sutlej, though defended by more powerful artillery than could be brought against them, was stormed by Gough. After these defeats, the Sikhs submitted, yielding the territory between the Sutlej and the Beas.

26. **The Second Sikh War. 1848—1849.**—In **1848** there was a second Sikh war. On January 13, **1849**, Gough—now Lord Gough—met with a check at Chillianwalla, and Sir Charles Napier was sent out to succeed him as commander-in-chief. Before Napier arrived, Gough gained a decisive victory at Gujerat. On this the whole of the Punjab was annexed. Chiefly under the firm and kindly management of two brothers, Henry and John Lawrence, the Punjab was reduced to order and contentment, and the very Sikh soldiers who had been the most dangerous antagonists of the British Government were converted into its most unwavering supporters.

27. **Lord Dalhousie's Administration. 1848—1856.**—When the second Sikh war was being fought, Lord Dalhousie was the governor-general, and he continued to rule India for eight years, from **1848** to **1856**. He was impressed with the advantages which would accrue to the native population by being brought under British rule, and he annexed one territory after another. In his time the Punjab, Sattara, Nagpoor, Lower Burmah, and finally Oude, were brought directly under British authority either by conquest or by the dethronement of the native princes. Lord Dalhousie's intentions were undoubtedly good, but he irritated an

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influential class of natives by his entire disregard of their feelings and prejudices. Especially was this the case when, as happened at Sattara, territory was seized, on the ground that the native ruler, being childless, was without an heir. The Hindoos, like the old Romans, regard an adopted son and a real son as standing on exactly the same footing, and as in the case of the old Romans, this idea was based on the religious belief that the father needed a son to perform certain sacrifices for his benefit after death. When, therefore, Lord Dalhousie refused to acknowledge the adopted son of the Rajah of Sattara as his successor, he was guilty, in Hindoo opinion, of an unjust and irreligious act. Moreover, Lord Dalhousie alienated, especially in Oude and the North-West Provinces, an influential class of native gentlemen because the officials supported by him took every opportunity of depriving them of certain rights which they claimed over the land, and which they had long exercised. Though this was done with the benevolent intention of sweeping away all middle-men standing between the officers of the Government and the cultivators, whom they wished to shield from wrong, the result was none the less deplorable.

28. **The Sepoy Army. 1856—1857.**—In 1856, Lord Canning, a son of the Prime Minister George Canning, became governor-general. By that time some of the dispossessed princes and most of the offended native gentlemen had formed a conspiracy against the British Government, which they held to have been unjust towards them and which in some cases had really been so. The conspirators aimed at securing the support of the Bengal Sepoy army, which had also been alarmed by certain acts in which the Government had not shown itself sufficiently careful of their feelings and prejudices. Most of the Sepoys were Hindoos, and all Hindoos are divided into castes, and believe that the man who loses his caste is not only disgraced in the present life but suffers misery after death. This loss of caste is not the penalty for moral faults, but for purely bodily actions, such as eating out of the same vessel as one of a lower caste. Caste, too, is lost by eating any part of the sacred animal the cow, and, as a new rifle had been lately served out, the conspirators easily frightened the mass of the Sepoys into the belief that the cartridges for this rifle were greased with cow's fat. When, therefore, they bit the new cartridges, as soldiers then had to do, before loading, their lips would touch the cow's grease and they would at once lose caste. It was said that the object of the Government was to render the men miserable by

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depriving them of the shelter of their own religion in order to drive them to the adoption of Christianity in despair.

29. **The Outbreak of the Mutiny. 1857.**—In the spring of **1857** there were attempts to mutiny near Calcutta, but the actual outbreak occurred at Meerut near Delhi. There the native regiments first massacred their English officers and such other Englishmen as they met with, and then marched to Delhi, where they proclaimed the descendant of the Great Mogul (see p. 801), who was living there as a British pensioner, Emperor of India. Canning did what he could by sending for British troops from other parts of India, and also for a considerable force which happened to be at sea on its way to take part in a war which had broken out with China. His position was, however, exceedingly precarious till further reinforcements could be brought from England. His best helper was Sir John Lawrence, who had governed the recently annexed Punjab with such ability and justice that the Sikh warriors, so lately the fierce enemies of the British, were ready to fight in their behalf. As the Sikhs did not profess the Hindoo religion, there was, in their case, no difficulty about caste. With their aid Lawrence disarmed the Sepoys in the Punjab, and sent all the troops he could spare to besiege Delhi. Delhi, however, was a strong place and, as the besiegers were few, months elapsed before it could be taken.

30. **Cawnpore. 1857.**—The mutiny spread to Lucknow, the capital of Oude, where the few Englishmen in the place were driven into the Residency with Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir John's brother, at their head, to hold out, if they could, till help arrived. At Cawnpore, not far off, were about five hundred British women and children, and less than five hundred British men were besieged by one Nana Sahib, who hated the English on account of wrongs which he conceived himself to have suffered at their hands. After they had endured terrible hardships, Nana Sahib offered to allow the garrison to depart in safety. The offer was accepted and the weary defenders made their way to the boats waiting for them on the river, where they were shot down from the bank. Some of the women and children were kept alive for a few days, but in the end all were massacred, and their bodies flung into a well. Only four of the defenders of Cawnpore escaped to tell the miserable tale.

31. **The Recovery of Delhi and the Relief of Lucknow. 1857.** The mutiny, widely spread as it was, was confined to the Bengal Presidency. In Lucknow, though Sir Henry Lawrence had been slain, the garrison held out in the Residency. At last Havelock,

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a brave, pious officer, who prayed and taught his men to pray as the Puritan soldiers had prayed in Cromwell's time, brought a small band through every obstacle to its relief. Before he reached the place Sir James Outram joined him, authorised by the Government to take the command out of his hands. Outram, however, honourably refused to take from Havelock the credit of the achievement. 'To you,' wrote Outram to Havelock, 'shall be left the glory of relieving Lucknow, for which you have already struggled so much. I shall accompany you, placing my military service at your disposal, should you please, and serving under you as a volunteer.' Thus supported, Havelock relieved Lucknow on September 25, but he had not men enough to drive off the besiegers permanently, and Outram, who, after the city had been entered, took the command, had to wait for relief in turn. Delhi had already been taken by storm on September 19.

32. **The End of the Mutiny. 1857—1858.**—Soon after the relief of Lucknow Sir Colin Campbell, who afterwards became Lord Clyde, arrived with reinforcements from England, and finally suppressed the mutiny. In **1858** Parliament put an end to the authority of the East India Company (see p. 808). Thenceforth the Governor-General was brought directly under the Queen, acting through a British Secretary of State for India responsible to Parliament. There was also to be an Indian Council in England composed of persons familiar with Indian affairs, in order that the Secretary of State might have the advice of experienced persons. On assuming full authority, the Queen issued a proclamation to the peoples and princes of India. To the people she promised complete toleration in religion, and admission to office of qualified persons. To the princes she promised scrupulous respect for their rights and dignities. To all she declared her intention of respecting their rights and customs. It is in this last respect especially that the proclamation laid down the lines on which administration of India will always have to move if it is to be successful. Englishmen cannot but perceive that many things are done by the natives of India which are in their nature hurtful, unjust, or even cruel, and they are naturally impatient to remove evils that are very evident to them. The lesson necessary for them to learn is the one which Walpole taught their own ancestors, that it is better to leave evils untouched for a while than to risk the overthrow of a system of government which, on the whole, works beneficently. It is one thing to endeavour to lead the people of India forward to a better life, another thing to drag them forward

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and thereby to provoke a general exasperation which would lessen the chances of improvement in the future, and might possibly sweep the reforming government itself away.

CHAPTER LX

ANTECEDENTS AND RESULTS OF THE SECOND REFORM ACT 1857—1874

LEADING DATES

The Second Derby Ministry	1858
The Second Palmerston Ministry	1859
War of Italian Liberation	1859
Commercial Treaty with France	1860
The American Civil War	1861–1864
Earl Russell's Ministry	1865
War between Austria and Prussia	1866
The Third Derby Ministry	1866
The Second Reform Act	1867
The First Disraeli Ministry	1868
The First Gladstone Ministry	1868
Disestablishment of the Irish Church	1869
The First Irish Land Act and the Education Act	1870
War between France and Germany	1870–1871
Abolition of Army Purchase	1871
The Ballot Act	1872
Fall of the Gladstone Ministry	1874

1. **Fall of the First Palmerston Ministry. 1857—1858.**—When the Mutiny was crushed the Palmerston ministry no longer existed. Palmerston's readiness to enforce his will on foreign nations had led him in 1857 to provoke a war with China which the majority of the House of Commons condemned as unjustifiable. He dissolved Parliament and appealed to the fighting instincts of the nation, and, though not only Cobden and Bright, but Gladstone, joined the Conservatives against him, he obtained a sweeping majority in the new Parliament. Curiously enough, he was turned out of office, in 1858, by this very same Parliament, on a charge of truckling to the French Emperor. Explosive bombs, wherewith to murder Napoleon III., were manufactured in England, and plans for using them against him were laid on English soil. The attempt was made by an Italian, Orsini, and upon its failure the French Government and people called upon the English Government to prevent such designs in future. Palmerston brought in a Conspiracy-to-Murder Bill, the object of which was to punish those who contrived the assassination of foreign princes on English soil. This measure, desirable as it was, was unpopular in England, because

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some Frenchmen talked abusively of Englishmen as protectors of murderers, and even called on the Emperor to invade England. Parliament refused to be bullied even into doing a good thing, and, the Bill being rejected, the Palmerston ministry resigned.

2. **The Second Derby Ministry and the Beginning of the Second Palmerston Ministry. 1858—1859.**—Lord Derby became Prime Minister a second time, and in 1859 Disraeli, who was again Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, brought in a Reform Bill which was rejected by the House of Commons. A new ministry was formed which, like Lord Aberdeen's in 1852, comprised Whigs and Peelites. Palmerston was Prime Minister, Russell Foreign Secretary, and Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer.

3. **Italian War of Liberation. 1859.**—In 1859, the year in which the second Palmerston ministry took office, a great war broke out in Italy. Italians could have no freedom in their own states as long as Austria held Lombardy and Venetia, because Austrian armies were always ready to help any Italian prince in maintaining despotism. In the kingdom of Sardinia alone, Victor Emmanuel persisted in maintaining a constitutional government in defiance of Austria, and thereby, and by his ingrained honesty of nature, attracted the reverence of all Italians who longed to expel the Austrians and gain political freedom. It was evident that all Italy must be governed despotically or constitutionally, and that constitutional government could not be maintained even in the kingdom of Sardinia unless Austria was driven back, whilst despotic government could not be maintained elsewhere unless Sardinia was crushed. In 1858 Napoleon came to an understanding with Cavour, the statesmanlike Sardinian minister, and in 1859 he led an army across the Alps to support the Sardinians. Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the northern parts of the States of the Church, drove away their rulers and combined forces with Victor Emmanuel. Napoleon and his ally defeated the Austrians in the two great battles of Magenta and Solferino, after which the Emperor made peace with Austria. Victor Emmanuel and his subjects, who had hoped that the war might be continued till Austria had been entirely excluded from Italy, were grievously disappointed. Napoleon was, however, probably justified in bringing the war to a close, as he had reason to think that, if he continued it, Prussia would take part with Austria against him, and as it was very likely that if hostilities were prolonged his own subjects would refuse to support him. By the peace of Zürich, which put an end to the war, Milan

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was given to Victor Emmanuel, but Venetia was left to Austria. The expelled princes were to be reinstated, and all Italian states, including Austrian Venetia and the increased kingdom of Sardinia, were to form a confederation, of which the president was to be the Pope.

4. **The Kingdom of Italy. 1859—1861.**—The Italians of the central provinces, Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the northern part of the Papal States, refused to accept this absurd arrangement. In **1860** they joined Victor Emmanuel's kingdom, which now began to be known as the Kingdom of Italy. Russell, as Foreign Secretary, did everything in his power to uphold their right to dispose of themselves, and on Savoy and Nice being surrendered to France Napoleon acquiesced in the arrangement, whilst Austria did not venture to provoke a new war by interfering. In **1860**, too, Garibaldi, a straightforward and enthusiastic soldier, whose ideal was the union of Italy, invaded Sicily, and in a few weeks conquered both Sicily and Naples, with the exception of the strong fortress of Gaeta. In the meanwhile many Catholics had come from other countries to defend the independence of the Pope, which was visibly threatened. They were, however, defeated by an Italian army, and that part of the Papal dominions which lay between the Apennines and the Adriatic was added to Victor Emmanuel's kingdom. Victor Emmanuel himself came into Southern Italy through his newly-annexed regions, where he was welcomed by Garibaldi. The joint armies laid siege to Gaeta, which surrendered on February 13, **1861**. Victor Emmanuel now ruled over all Italy except Venetia, which was held by an Austrian army, and Rome, which, together with the district round it, was secured to the Pope by a French garrison.

5. **The Volunteers. 1859—1860.**—In **1860** Russell brought in a Reform Bill, but the country did not care about it, and even Russell perceived that it was useless to press it. It was withdrawn, and no other similar measure was proposed whilst Palmerston lived. The country, indeed, was agitated about other matters. Napoleon's annexation of Savoy and Nice caused disquiet, and suspicions were entertained that, having succeeded in defeating Austria, he might think of trying to defeat either Prussia or England. Already, whilst Lord Derby was Prime Minister, young men had come forward to serve as volunteers in defence of the country. Palmerston gave great encouragement to the movement, and before long corps of volunteers were established in every county, as a permanent part of the British army.

6. **The Commercial Treaty with France. 1860.**—Napoleon did

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not really want to quarrel with England, and before long an opportunity presented itself for binding the two nations together. The Emperor warmly adopted a scheme for a commercial treaty between England and France which had been suggested by Cobden, and which was also supported by Gladstone, who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had been completing Peel's work by carrying out the principles of Free Trade. In **1860** was signed the Commercial Treaty, in virtue of which English goods were admitted into France at low duties, whilst French wines and other articles were treated in England in the same way. Between England and France, however, there was this difference: in England the treaty was sanctioned by Parliament as being in accordance with the opinions generally entertained in the country. In France it was put in force by the sole authority of the Emperor in defiance of the opinions generally entertained by the French nation. Consequently, when, at a later time, the power of the Emperor came to an end, France took the earliest opportunity to annul a treaty the value of which she was unable to appreciate.

7. **The Presidential Election in America. 1860.**—In **1860**, the year in which the treaty with France was signed, events occurred in the United States of America which pressed heavily on England. In the southern states there were some millions of negro slaves, mostly employed in producing sugar and cotton, whilst in the northern states there were no slaves of any kind. The free states flourished, and the slave states decayed. The slave-owners hoped to improve their position by occupying fresh soil and carrying their slaves with them to cultivate it. The inhabitants of the free states did not yet propose to abolish slavery in the old slave states, which they were unable to do constitutionally, but they asked that slavery should not be tolerated in any new states. In **1860** Abraham Lincoln was chosen President in order that he might enforce this doctrine, on which the slave states declared themselves independent, taking the name of the 'Confederate States.' The free states continued to speak of themselves and of all the other states as still forming the 'United States,' declaring that the confederates had no right to leave the union, and must be compelled to return to it.

8. **England and the American Civil War. 1861–1862.**—A terrible war between the two sections broke out in **1861**. English opinion was divided on the subject. The upper classes, for the most part, sided with the South; the working men, for the most part, with the North. Towards the end of **1861** the Confederate Government despatched two agents, Mason and Slidell, to Europe

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in an English mail-steamer to seek for the friendship of England and France. They were taken out of the steamer by the captain of a United States' man-of-war. As it was contrary to the rules of international law to seize anyone on board a neutral ship, the British Government protested, and prepared to make war with the United States if they refused to surrender the agents. Fortunately the United States Government promptly surrendered the men, honourably acknowledging that its officer had acted wrongly, and the miserable spectacle of a war between two nations which ought always to be bound together by ties of brotherhood was averted. When the demand for the surrender of Mason and Slidell was being prepared in England, Prince Albert, who had lately received the title of Prince Consort, lay upon what proved to be his death-bed. His last act was to suggest that some passages in the English despatch, which might possibly give offence in America, should be more courteously expressed. On December 14, 1861, he died. His whole married life had been one of continuous self-abnegation. He never put himself forward, or aspired to the semblance of power; but he placed his intelligence and tact at the service of the queen and the country, softening down asperities and helping on the smooth working of the machinery of government.

9. **The 'Alabama.' 1862.**—The fleet of the United States had from the beginning of the war blockaded the southern ports, and many English merchants fitted out steamers to run through the blockading squadrons, carrying goods to the confederates and taking away cotton in return. The confederates, who had no navy, were anxious to attack the commercial marine of their enemies, and ordered a swift war-steamer to be built at Birkenhead by an English ship-builder, which, after it had put to sea, was named the 'Alabama.' The 'Alabama' took a large number of American merchant-ships, sinking the ships after removing the crews and the valuable part of the cargo. Such proceedings caused the greatest indignation in America, where it was held that the British Government ought to have seized the 'Alabama' before it put to sea, as being in reality a ship of war, which ought not to be allowed to start on its career from a neutral harbour. Some years afterwards England had to pay heavy damages to the United States for the losses arising in consequence of the mismanagement of the Government in allowing this ship to sail.

10. **The Cotton Famine. 1861—1864.**—In the meanwhile great suffering was caused in the north of England by the stoppage of the supplies of cotton from America, in consequence of the

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blockade of the southern ports. It was on American cotton that the cotton-mills in Lancashire had almost exclusively depended, and the small amount brought by the blockade-runners was far too little to meet their needs. Attempts were made to get supplies from Egypt and India, but these supplies were as yet insufficient in quantity, and in quality very inferior. Mills were either stopped or kept going only for a few hours in the week. Thousands were thrown out of work, and the cotton-famine caused as much misery as a bread-famine would have done. Yet not only were the sufferers patient under their misfortune, but they refused to speak evil of the northern states, whose blockading operations had been the cause of their misery. Believing that slave-owning was a crime, and that the result of the victory of the northern states would be the downfall of slavery in America, they suffered in silence rather than ask that England should aid a cause which in their hearts they condemned.

11. **End of the American Civil War. 1864.** — In 1864 the American civil war ended by the complete victory of the North. Slavery was brought to an end in the whole of the territory of the United States. The conquerors showed themselves most merciful in the hour of victory, setting themselves deliberately to win back the hearts of the conquered. Such a spectacle could not fail to influence the course of English politics. A democratic government, sorely tried, had shown itself strong and merciful. The cause of democratic progress also gained adherents through the abnegation of the working-men of Lancashire in the time of the cotton-famine. Those who willingly suffered on behalf of what they believed to be a righteous cause could hardly be debarred much longer from the exercise of the full rights of citizenship.

12. **The Last Days of Lord Palmerston. 1865.**—Although Parliamentary reform could not be long delayed, it was not likely to come as long as Lord Palmerston lived. He was the most popular man in England: cheery, high-spirited, and worthily representing the indomitable courage of the race to which he belonged. He was now eighty years of age, and the old system did well enough for him. On the other hand, Gladstone, whose energy and financial success gave him an authority only second to that of Palmerston in the House of Commons, declared for reform. In 1865 a new Parliament was elected. On October 18, before it met, Palmerston died. He had been brisk and active to the last, but there was work now to be done needing the hands and hearts of younger men.

13. **The Ministry of Earl Russell. 1865—1866.**—Russell, who had been created Earl Russell in 1861, succeeded Palmerston as

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Prime Minister, and Gladstone became leader of the House of Commons. When the session opened in **1866**, the ministry introduced a Reform Bill, with the object of lowering the franchise in counties and boroughs. The majority in the House of Commons did not care about reform, and though the House did not directly throw out the Bill, so many objections were raised, mainly by dissatisfied Liberals, and so much time was lost in discussing them, that the ministry came to the conclusion that the House did not wish to pass it. On this they resigned, intending to show by so doing that they really cared about the Bill, and were ready to sacrifice office for its sake.

14. **The Third Derby Ministry and the Second Reform Act. 1866—1868.**—For the third time Lord Derby became Prime Minister, with Disraeli again as Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. It soon appeared that, though the House of Commons cared little for reform, the working-men cared for it much. Crowded and enthusiastic meetings were held in most of the large towns in the North. In London, the Government having prohibited a meeting appointed to be held in Hyde Park, the crowd, finding the gates shut, broke down the railings and rushed in. Disraeli, quick to perceive that the country was determined to have reform, made up his mind to be the minister to give it; and, as he was able to carry his usual supporters with him, the opposition of the discontented Liberals—through which the Reform Bill of the last session had been wrecked—was rendered innocuous. At the opening of the session of **1867**, Disraeli first proposed a series of resolutions laying down the principles on which reform ought to be based. Finding that the House of Commons preferred an actual Bill, he sketched out the plan of a Bill, and then, as it did not please the Houses, withdrew it and brought in a second Bill very different from the one which he had first proposed. Three Cabinet ministers, one of whom was Lord Cranborne (who afterwards became Lord Salisbury), resigned rather than accept a Bill so democratic as the final proposal. Before the Bill got through the House of Commons it became still more democratic. In its final shape every man who paid rates in the boroughs was to have a vote, and in towns therefore household suffrage was practically established, whilst even lodgers were allowed to vote if they paid 10*l.* rent and had resided in the same lodgings for a whole year. In the counties the franchise was given to all who inhabited houses at 12*l.* rental whilst the old freehold suffrage (see p. 902) of 40*s.* was retained. At least in towns large

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enough to return members separately, the working-men would henceforth have a voice in managing the affairs of the nation. In **1868** Bills were carried changing on similar principles the franchise in Scotland and Ireland. In England and Scotland there was also a redistribution of seats, small constituencies being disfranchised and their members given to large ones.

15. **Irish Troubles. 1867.**—The year of the second Reform Act was one of trouble in Ireland. The discontented in Ireland were now supported by an immense population of Irish in America, the whole of which was hostile to England, and large numbers of which had acquired military discipline in the American Civil War. A secret society, whose members were known as Fenians, sprang up on both sides of the Atlantic. Many of the military Irish returned from America to Ireland, and in March **1867** a general rising was attempted in Ireland. Heavy snow-storms made the movements of the insurgents impossible, and this effort to bring about a complete separation between Ireland and England was suppressed with little bloodshed. Numbers of Irish, as well those residing in England as those who remained in their own country, sympathised with the Fenians. In Manchester, some of these rescued some Fenian prisoners from a prison van, and in the course of the struggle a shot was fired which killed a policeman. Five of the rescuers were tried in November, and three were hanged. In December, other Irishmen blew down with gunpowder the wall of Clerkenwell Prison, in which two Fenians were confined, hoping to liberate the prisoners.

16. **The Gladstone Ministry and the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. 1868—1869.**—In February **1868**, Disraeli became Prime Minister, Lord Derby having resigned in consequence of the state of his health. It had by this time become evident to the principal Liberals that Irish discontent must be caused by grievances which it behoved the British Parliament to remedy. Accordingly, Gladstone proposed and carried resolutions calling for the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Disraeli dissolved Parliament, as he was obliged in any case to do in order to allow the new constituencies created by the Reform Act to choose their representatives. The new Parliament contained a large Liberal majority, and Gladstone became Prime Minister. In **1869** he brought in and carried a Bill disestablishing and disendowing the Protestant Church of Ireland, which was the Church of the minority.

17. **The Irish Land Act. 1870.**—In **1870** the Government attacked the more difficult question of Irish land. An Irish Land

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Act was now passed which obliged landlords to compensate their tenants for improvements made by them, and to give them some payment if they turned them out of their holding for any reason except for not paying their rent. Tenants who desired to buy land from their landlords might receive loans from the Government to enable them to become owners of farms which they had rented. The Act had less effect than was intended, as the landlord, being allowed to come to an agreement with a tenant that the Act should not in his case be enforced, had usually sufficient influence over his tenants to induce them to abandon all claim to the benefits which Parliament intended them to receive.

18. **The Education Act. 1870.**—In the same year Forster, who was one of the ministers, introduced a new system of education in primary schools in England. Up to this time the Government had been allowed by Parliament to grant money to schools on condition that a sum at least equal to the grant was raised by school fees and local subscriptions, and that the Government inspectors were satisfied that the children were properly taught. By the new Education Act, wherever there was a deficiency in school accommodation, the ratepayers were to elect a School Board with authority to draw upon the rates for the building and maintenance of as many schools as the Committee of the Privy Council appointed to decide on questions of education (see p. 920) thought to be necessary—which School Boards had authority to compel parents who neglected the education of their children to send them either to the Board School or to some other efficient school. At these schools the Bible was to be read and explained, but no religious instruction according to the principles of any special religious body was to be given in school hours.

19. **The War between Prussia and Austria. 1866.**—Whilst these events were occurring in England great changes had taken place on the Continent. In **1866** a war had broken out between Prussia on the one hand, and Austria supported by the great majority of the German states on the other. The Austrians were completely defeated by the Prussians at Sadowa in Bohemia, though at Custozza they defeated the Italians, who had allied themselves with Prussia. The result was that when peace was made, Venetia was ceded to Italy, whilst in Germany, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau and Frankfort were annexed to Prussia, and the whole of the country to the north of the Main formed into a North German Confederation under Prussian supremacy.

20. **War between France and Germany. 1870—1871.—The**

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French growing jealous of the success of Prussia, in 1870 the Emperor Napoleon picked a quarrel with the King of Prussia. In the war which followed the whole of Germany sided with Prussia. The German army was thoroughly prepared for war, and had a consummate strategist, Count Moltke, to direct its operations, whilst the French army was in utter confusion. The Germans invaded France, and, after defeating outlying bodies of French troops at Wörth and Forbach, overthrew the main army under Bazaine at Gravelotte. Driving Bazaine into Metz, they left a large part of their force to block him up in the town, whilst they advanced towards Paris with the remainder. On the way, learning that Napoleon was marching to relieve Bazaine, they turned upon him and completely defeated him at Sedan, making both him and his whole army prisoners. On this the Parisians established a Republic, but the Germans pressed on, laid siege to Paris, in the meanwhile forcing the French army in Metz to capitulate. The Republican Government made an heroic resistance, but in March 1871 Paris capitulated and peace was made; France having to pay a large sum of money and to cede to Germany Alsace and the north-eastern part of Lorraine. Before this the southern German princes had agreed to combine with the northern princes in a new German Empire, and William I., king of Prussia, was proclaimed hereditary German Emperor at Versailles. As France had been obliged to call home the garrison which she had hitherto kept at Rome, the Italian troops entered that city, thus completing Italian unity under the constitutional monarchy of Victor Emmanuel.

21. **Abolition of Army-Purchase. 1871.**—In these wars England took no part. Government and Parliament continued to pay attention to domestic reforms. Hitherto regimental officers in the army had been allowed, on voluntarily retiring from the service, to receive a sum of money from the senior officer beneath them who was willing or able to pay the price for the creation of a vacancy to which he would be promoted over the heads of officers who, though they were his own seniors, did not pay the money. A poor officer, therefore, could only be promoted when vacancies above him were caused by death. A Government Bill for the abolition of this practice passed the Commons, but was laid aside by the Lords till a complete measure of army-reform, which had been joined to the Bill when it was first brought into the Commons, should be produced. Gladstone, taking this to be equivalent to the rejection of the Bill, obtained from the Queen the withdrawal of the warrant by which purchase was authorised, thus settling by a stroke of the

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prerogative a measure which he had at first hoped to pass by the authority of Parliament. His action on this occasion lost him the good will of some of his best and most independent supporters, whilst large numbers of Dissenters had been alienated from the Government because the Education Act had not entirely put an end to the giving of religious instruction in schools, and thus relieved them from the fear that the religious belief of the children would be influenced by the teaching of Church of England schoolmasters and schoolmistresses.

22. **The Ballot Act. 1872.**—All members of the Liberal party, however, concurred in supporting a Bill introduced by Forster in **1872** for establishing secret voting by means of the ballot. The Ballot Act, which passed in this year, made it impossible to know how any man's vote was given, and consequently enabled persons dependent on others for their livelihood or advancement to give their votes freely without fear of being deprived of employment if they voted otherwise than their employers wished. The work of the first Gladstone ministry was in some respects like the work of the ministry of Lord Grey after the first Reform Act. In both cases the accession of a new class to a share of power was followed by almost feverish activity in legislation, in the one case in accordance with the ideas of the middle classes, in the other case in accordance with the ideas of the artisans. In both cases vigorous progress was followed by a reaction. Many who had applauded what was done had no desire to see more done in the same direction, and, as always happens when people are no longer in accord with the ideas of a ministry, they fix angrily on mistakes committed and think of unavoidable misfortunes as though they were intentional mistakes. Some of the ministers, moreover, made themselves unpopular by the discourtesy of their language.

23. **Foreign Policy of the Ministry. 1871—1872.**—The foreign policy of the Government made it unpopular. One result of the great war between France and Germany in **1871** was that Russia refused to be any longer bound by the treaty of **1856** (see p. 948) to abstain from keeping ships of war in the Black Sea, and the English Government, as a matter of necessity, but to its own grievous injury at home, agreed to a conference being held between the representatives of the great Powers in London, at which the stipulations objected to by Russia were annulled. Another cause of the unpopularity of the Government was its agreement in **1871** to refer to arbitration the claims which had been brought forward by the United States for compensation for damages inflicted on their

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commercial marine by the ravages of the 'Alabama' (see p. 960). In 1872 a Court of Arbitration sat at Geneva and awarded to the United States a sum of 15,000,000 dollars, or rather more than 3,000,000*l.* The sum was regarded by many in England as excessive, but, whether this was so or not, it was well spent in putting an end to a misunderstanding between the two great branches of the English-speaking race. Since that time there has been an increasing readiness to submit disputes between nations to arbitration; but those who admire this course sometimes forget that it is only in some cases that arbitration is acceptable. When two nations are desirous to live on good terms with one another and are only prevented from doing so by a dispute on some particular question of comparatively slight importance, it is not only possible, but in the highest degree desirable, that they should abide by the decision of arbitrators rather than go to war. Questions reaching to the permanent interests of a nation, and still more, questions touching its honour or its very existence, are not likely to be decided by arbitration. In 1872 England could honourably pay an unduly large sum of money rather than go to war. In 1859 the King of Sardinia could not have been expected to submit to arbitration the question whether the Italian nation should be united or divided.

24. **Fall of the First Gladstone Ministry. 1873—1874.**—In 1873 the ministry brought in a Bill to establish in Ireland a new University which, in order that it might inspire confidence in Protestants and Catholics alike, was to be forbidden to teach the disputed but important subjects of theology, philosophy, and history. This singular Bill being rejected by the House of Commons, the ministers resigned. As, however, Disraeli refused to take office, they continued to carry on the government. In January 1874, Parliament being dissolved, a large Conservative majority was returned. The ministry then resigned, and Disraeli became Prime Minister a second time. It was the first time since Peel's resignation that the Conservatives had held office, except on sufferance.

25. **Colonial Expansion. 1815—1901.**—After the great war with France which ended in 1815, the colonies retained and acquired by England were valued either like the West India Islands because they produced sugar, or like the Cape of Good Hope because they afforded stations for British fleets which would be of the highest value in time of war. There were, no doubt, British emigrants who had left their homes to settle in Canada and Australia, but their numbers were not very great, and at the Cape of Good Hope the population was almost entirely of Dutch origin. Since that

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time the West India Islands have decreased in importance in consequence of the abolition of slavery, the throwing open of the British market to foreign sugar, and to defects in a system of cultivation which had been adopted in the time of slavery. On the other hand there have grown up great and powerful communities mainly composed of emigrants from Great Britain, self-governing like Great Britain herself, and held to the mother-country by the loosest possible ties. These communities are to be found in three parts of the globe—the Dominion of Canada, Australasia, and South Africa.

26. **The North-American Colonies. 1841—1874.**—It had been supposed in England that the troubles which had resulted in Canada from the dissensions between the British and French settlers had been brought to an end in **1841** by the legislative union of the two provinces (see p. 916). The British inhabitants of Upper Canada, however, complained of the influence exercised by the French of Lower Canada. To provide a remedy an Act of the British Parliament created, in **1867**, a federation known as the Dominion of Canada into which any existing colonies on the North American continent were to be allowed to enter. There was to be a governor-general appointed by the Crown, and a Dominion Parliament seated at Ottawa and legislating for matters of common concern, which was to consist of a Senate, the members of which are nominated for life by the governor-general on the advice of responsible ministers, and a House of Commons, the members of which are elected by constituencies in the provinces in proportion to the population of each province. The parliaments of the separate provinces retained in their own hands the management of their own local affairs. The provincial parliaments of Upper and Lower Canada were separated from one another, bearing respectively the names of the province of Ontario and the province of Quebec. To them were added as component parts of the Dominion Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Between **1870** and **1872** Manitoba, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island joined the Dominion. Newfoundland continues to hold aloof. The unoccupied lands of the north-west are placed under the control of the authorities of the Dominion, which thus combines under one government the whole of America north of the territory of the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific with the exception of Newfoundland and its subject territory of Labrador.

27. **Australasia. 1788—1901.**—The Australasian colonies are divided into two groups, those of Australia and those of New Zealand. The first British settlers in Australia were convicts, who

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arrived at Port Jackson in **1788**. For many years the colony thus founded under the name of New South Wales remained a penal settlement. The convicts themselves, after serving their time in servitude, became free, their children were free, and there was a certain amount of free emigration from Great Britain. In **1821** New South Wales had a population of 30,000, of which three-fourths were convicts. It had already been discovered that the country was peculiarly adapted to the production of wool, and the number of sheep in the colony rose from 25,000 in **1810** to 290,000 in **1821**. From this time success was assured. Other colonies were founded in due course. Van Diemen's Land, afterwards known as Tasmania, was established as a separate colony in **1825**. In the same year a small convict settlement was founded under the name of West Australia. South Australia received a separate government in **1836** under a British Act of Parliament passed in **1834**. Victoria was separated from New South Wales in **1850**. By this time the free population, indignant at the constant influx of British criminals, resisted the importation of convicts so strenuously that in **1851** an end was put to the system of transportation to Australia except in the small and thinly populated colony of West Australia. In that year the population flocked to the newly discovered gold fields, and the attraction of gold brought an enormous number of immigrants from Great Britain. Queensland became a separate colony in **1859**. In **1901** the white population of the whole of Australia numbered about 3,700,000. After a long delay, Tasmania and the five Australian colonies followed the example of the North American colonies, and set up a federal government. The Commonwealth of Australia came into being on January 1, **1901**, in accordance with an Act passed by the Parliament of Great Britain in the previous year. New Zealand, in which the white population reached 772,000 in **1901**, has, since **1876**, been governed by a single parliament, the seat of which is at Wellington.

28. **South Africa.**—The Cape Colony finally passed under British authority in **1806**. In **1820** a stream of British immigration began to set in. The colony was under the disadvantage of having fierce and warlike Kaffir tribes on its north-eastern frontier, and from **1834** onwards a series of wars with the Kaffirs broke out from time to time, which taxed to the uttermost the resources of the colonists and of the British regiments sent for their defence. Many of the Dutch, who were usually known as Boers or farmers, were dissatisfied with British rule, and in **1835** they began to migrate further north. Some settled in Natal,

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which, in 1843, became a British colony. Others founded the Orange River Free State and the Transvaal Republic, both of which the British Government finally recognised as independent states. In spite of emigration and Kaffir wars, the British colonists continually pressed further north, and in 1871 the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley attracted immigrants and capital to the colony. That which distinguishes the South African settlements of Great Britain from those in North America and Australia, is the enormous preponderance of a native population. Out of every six inhabitants five are natives. The total white population in 1891, excluding the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, amounted to about 430,000 persons.

CHAPTER LXI

THE LAST YEARS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1874—1901

1. **The Disraeli (Beaconsfield) Ministry. 1874—1880.**—The Conservative ministry, formed under Disraeli in 1874, contented itself for some time with domestic legislation. In 1876 troubles broke out in the Balkan Peninsula, caused by the misdeeds of the Turkish officials. Servia and Montenegro made war upon the Turks, and in January 1877 a conference of European ministers was held at Constantinople to settle all questions at issue. Nothing, however, was done to coerce the Turkish Government into better behaviour, and as other European powers refused to act, Russia declared war against Turkey. After a long and doubtful struggle, the Turkish power of resistance collapsed early in 1878, and a treaty between Russia and the Sultan was signed at San Stefano, by which the latter abandoned a considerable amount of territory. Disraeli, who had recently been made Earl of Beaconsfield, insisted that no engagement between Russia and Turkey would be valid unless it were confirmed by a European congress, and a congress was accordingly held at Berlin. By the Treaty of Berlin, which was signed in the course of 1878, Roumania and Servia became independent kingdoms, with some addition to their territory; Montenegro was also enlarged, and Bulgaria erected into a principality paying tribute to the Sultan; whilst a district to which the name of Eastern Roumelia was given was to be ruled by a Christian governor nominated by the Sultan, who was to have the right of

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garrisoning fortresses in the Balkan Mountains. Russia acquired the piece of land near the mouth of the Danube, which she had lost after the Crimean War, and also another piece of land round Kars, which she had just conquered. The Sultan was recommended to cede Thessaly and part of Epirus to Greece. The protectorate over Bosnia and Herzegovina was given to Austria, and, by a separate convention, Cyprus was given to England on condition of paying tribute to the Sultan and protecting Asia Minor, which the Sultan promised to govern on an improved system. These arrangements have remained to the present day (1901), except that the Sultan has never garrisoned the fortresses in the Balkans, and that Eastern Roumelia has been annexed by its own population to Bulgaria, whilst the Sultan has only given over Thessaly to Greece, refusing to abandon any part of Epirus. In 1879 Egypt, having become practically bankrupt, was brought under the dual control of England and France. In South Africa, the territory of the republic of the Transvaal was annexed in 1877, and in 1879 there was a war with the Zulus, which began with the slaughter of a British force, though it ended in a complete victory. In Asia a second Afghan War broke out in 1878, arising from the attempt to establish a British agent at Cabul in order to check Russian intrigues. An impression grew up in the country that the Government was too fond of war, and when Parliament was dissolved in 1880, a considerable Liberal majority was returned.

2. **The Second Gladstone Ministry. 1880—1885.**—Gladstone formed a ministry which was soon confronted by difficulties in Ireland. There were troubles arising from the relations between landlord and tenant, and a Land League had been formed to support the tenants in their contentions with their landlords. There had also for some little time been amongst the Irish members a parliamentary party which demanded Home Rule, or the concession of an Irish parliament for the management of Irish affairs. This party was led by Parnell. In 1880 the ministry, in which the leading authority on Irish questions was Forster, the Irish Secretary, brought in a Compensation for Disturbance Bill, giving an evicted tenant compensation for the loss falling on him by being thrust out of his holding. This Bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. In 1881 the ministry carried another fresh Land Act, appointing a land court to fix rents which were not to be changed for fifteen years. At the same time it carried an Act for the protection of life and property, intended to suppress the murders and outrages which were rife in Ireland, by authorising

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the imprisonment of suspected persons without legal trial. In 1881 Parnell and other leading Irishmen were arrested, but in 1882 the Government let them out of prison, with the intention of pursuing a more conciliatory course. On this Forster resigned. His successor, Lord Frederick Cavendish, was murdered, together with the Irish Under-Secretary, Burke, in the Phœnix Park, Dublin, by a band of ruffians who called themselves Invincibles. An Act for the prevention of crimes was then passed. The Irish members of parliament continued bitterly hostile to the ministry. On the other hand, some at least of the members of the Government and of their supporters were becoming convinced that another method for the suppression of violence than compulsion must be employed, if Ireland was ever to be tranquil.

As had been the case with the last Government, foreign complications discredited the ministry. In 1880 the Dutch inhabitants of the Transvaal rose against the English government set up in their territory in 1877, and drove back with slaughter at Majuba Hill a British force sent against them. On this, the home government restored the independence of the republic, subject to its acknowledgment of the suzerainty of Great Britain. The greatest trouble, however, arose in Egypt. In 1882 an insurrection headed by Arabi Pacha with the object of getting rid of European influence, broke out against the Khedive, as the Pacha of Egypt had been called since his power had become hereditary (see p. 922). France, which had joined Great Britain in establishing the dual control, refused to act, and the British Government sent a fleet and army to overthrow Arabi. The forts of Alexandria were destroyed by the fleet, and a great part of the town burnt by the native populace. Sir Garnet Wolseley, at the head of a British army, defeated Arabi's troops at Tel-el-Kebir, and since that time the British Government has temporarily assumed the protectorate of Egypt, helping the Khedive to improve the condition of the Egyptian people. Farther south, in the Soudan, a Mahommedan fanatic calling himself the Mahdi roused his Mahommedan followers against the tyranny of the Egyptian officials, and almost the whole country broke loose from Egyptian control. An Egyptian army under an Englishman, Hicks, was massacred, and a few posts, of which the principal was Khartoum, alone held out. An enthusiastic and heroic Englishman, General Gordon, who had at one time put down a widespread rebellion in China, and had at another time been governor of the Soudan, here he had been renowned for his justice and kindliness as well

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as for his vigour, offered to go out, in the hope of saving the people at Khartoum from being overwhelmed by the Mahdi. The Government sent him off, but refused to comply with his requests. In 1884 Gordon's position was so critical that Wolseley, now Lord Wolseley, was sent to relieve him. It was too late, for in January 1885, before Wolseley could reach Khartoum, the town was betrayed into the hands of the Mahdi, and Gordon himself murdered. The vacillation of the Cabinet, probably resulting from differences of opinion inside it, alienated a large amount of public opinion. In Asia, Russia was pushing on in the direction of Afghanistan, and in 1885 seized a post called Penjdeh. For a time war with Russia seemed imminent, but eventually an arrangement was come to which left Penjdeh in Russian hands. At home, in 1884, by an agreement between Liberals and Conservatives, a third Reform Act was passed, conferring the franchise in the counties on the same conditions as those on which it had been conferred by the second Reform Act on the boroughs. The county constituencies and those in the large towns were split up into separate constituencies, each of them returning a single member, so that with a few exceptions no constituency now returns more than one. The ministry was by this time thoroughly unpopular, and in 1885 it was defeated and resigned, being followed by a Conservative Government under Lord Salisbury.

3. **The First Salisbury Ministry.**—The Government formed by Lord Salisbury in June 1885 lasted little more than seven months. It annexed Upper Burma to the British dominions, and passed an Act to facilitate the purchase of Irish land by the tenants. The general election of the autumn gave the Liberals a majority over the Conservatives, but left the eighty-six Irish Nationalists the arbiters of the situation. When the Irish members discovered that the Government intended to bring in a new bill for the suppression of crime in Ireland, and that Mr. Gladstone was favourable to Home Rule, they threw their weight into the scale of the Opposition, and Lord Salisbury's Government fell. (January 1886.)

4. **The Third Gladstone Ministry.**—Mr. Gladstone again formed a ministry, and at once introduced a bill for granting self-government to Ireland. By the "Home Rule" Bill Ireland was to have, under certain restrictions, a Parliament of its own, and Irish members were no longer to sit in the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. He put forward also a comprehensive scheme for buying out the Irish landlords and selling their lands to the tenants,

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which was to be carried out by the expenditure of fifty millions advanced by the Imperial exchequer. Both plans met with great opposition, even amongst his own followers. Some thought that the sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament was not sufficiently secured and that the unity of the empire would be endangered: others that the money borrowed to buy the land would not be repaid. Several members of the ministry resigned, and ninety-three Liberals voted against the second reading of the Home Rule Bill, so that it was rejected by a majority of thirty. Mr. Gladstone appealed to the country, but in the election which followed the Conservatives and the Liberal-Unionists, as the dissentient Liberals called themselves, obtained a majority of 118 over the Home Rulers. (July **1886**.)

5. **The Second Salisbury Ministry.**—Lord Salisbury's ministry did not include any Liberal-Unionists, but they firmly supported it throughout its existence. The first difficulty the Government had to deal with was the condition of Ireland. Since the passing of Mr. Gladstone's Land Act in **1881** the prices of all kinds of farm produce had fallen considerably, so that farmers were often unable to pay the rents which had been fixed as fair. Some landlords made equitable remissions to their tenants; others ignored the fall in prices and refused to make any. In many places the tenants combined to resist eviction, adopting a scheme called the Plan of Campaign, by which they offered to pay their landlord what they themselves deemed a fair rent, and if he refused to accept it as sufficient applied the money to the relief of the tenants whom he evicted. The Government brought in a Crimes Act (**1887**) to put down illegal combinations among the tenants, suppressed the meetings of the National League, and imprisoned many Irish members of Parliament. It adopted also various remedial measures, such as admitting leaseholders, hitherto excluded, to the right of having their rents fixed by the land courts, and enabling tenants under certain conditions to obtain the revision of rents fixed before the fall in prices. Acts were also passed to facilitate the purchase of land by tenants, for the Irish policy of Lord Salisbury aimed rather at the increase of peasant proprietorship than the regulation of the system of dual ownership.

In Great Britain Lord Salisbury's ministry carried two excellent reforms. One completed the Elementary Education Act of **1870** by making education free in all elementary schools. (**1891**.) The other followed up the Municipal Corporations Act of **1835**, somewhat tardily it is true, by placing the government of the counties in the

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hands of councils elected by the ratepayers. At the same time a similar 'county council' was established for the government of all that large part of London outside the limits of the city proper. (1888.)

6. **Fourth Gladstone Ministry.**—In 1892 a general election took place, and the Salisbury ministry, rendered unpopular by its coercive policy in Ireland, was defeated by an alliance between the Liberals and the Irish Nationalists. Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister for the fourth time, and introduced a second Home Rule Bill. (1893.) Unlike the previous bill, it provided that the Irish members should retain their seats in the Imperial Parliament; but though it passed the House of Commons the Lords threw it out by 419 to 41 votes. However a bill for completing the fabric of local government in the counties by establishing elective councils to administer parish affairs became law in the same year. In March 1894 Mr. Gladstone resigned office on account of age, and Lord Rosebery succeeded him as Prime Minister. The most important measure of his administration was a change in the system of taxation made by the Finance Act of 1894. By it the duties on property known as the death duties were revised and augmented, so that large properties paid in proportion more than small ones. Lord Rosebery's ministry fell in June 1895, and Lord Salisbury became for the third time Prime Minister.

7. **Third Salisbury Ministry.**—The elections of 1895 gave Lord Salisbury a majority of 153 over Liberals and Irish Nationalists combined, and in the ministry which he formed Liberal-Unionists were included. It was not, however, remarkable for its legislation. It passed another Irish Land Act (1896), and did something to develop local industries and agriculture in Ireland, but its most important measure was the establishment of county and district councils in that country like those which had been set up in England and Scotland. (1898.) The Irish were offered local self-government and material prosperity as a substitute for Home Rule.

Foreign and colonial affairs absorbed most of the ministry's attention. Once more the misgovernment of Turkey called for European intervention. A series of brutal massacres took place in Armenia; the Cretan Christians rose in revolt; the Greeks came to the aid of the Cretans as the Servians had come to the aid of the Bulgarians in 1876. The principle which dictated Lord Salisbury's Eastern policy was that the condition of the Christian subjects of Turkey concerned Europe as a whole, and should be ameliorated by agreement between the six great powers, not by

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the isolated action of one or two of them. By that method alone could the peace of Europe be preserved and the necessary reforms secured. The process, however, was slow, and agreement difficult to obtain. Owing to the differences of the great powers nothing was done to redress the wrongs of the Armenians, but Greece was protected from the consequences of its defeat by Turkey, and the Cretans obtained self-government. Though Crete still remained nominally subject to Turkey it became practically independent, with the second son of the King of Greece as its ruler. (**1898**.)

8. **The Reconquest of the Soudan.**—In the years which followed the suppression of Arabi's rebellion the government of Egypt was reorganised under British influence. Reforms were introduced into every branch of the administration, the condition of the people was greatly improved, and the finances were so well managed that there was an annual surplus of revenue over expenditure. Sir Evelyn Baring, afterwards Lord Cromer, the British consul-general, was the chief agent in this work. During the same period other Englishmen trained and disciplined the Egyptian army till it became an efficient body of fighting men. British troops had been withdrawn from the Soudan in **1885**, after the fall of Khartoum, and it was left entirely to the possession of the Mahdi and his successor the Khalifa. Under English leaders, however, the new Egyptian army proved capable of defending the frontier of Egypt against attack from the south, and became finally efficient enough to undertake the reconquest of the Soudan. In **1896** the province of Dongola was recovered, and in **1897** Berber was reoccupied. The work was completed in **1898** when a mixed British and Egyptian force under General Kitchener defeated one of the Khalifa's lieutenants on the Atbara, a tributary of the Blue Nile (April 8, **1898**), and routed the Khalifa's whole army with immense slaughter before the walls of his capital, Omdurman (September 2, **1898**). A year later the Khalifa himself was killed in battle. For a moment the reconquest of the Soudan seemed likely to involve England in a quarrel with France, as a French post had been established at Fashoda in its extreme south. But the French Government eventually recognised that the place was properly a part of the Soudan, and ordered it to be evacuated.

9. **Venezuela.**—During the same period another difference which threatened to lead to war was peacefully settled. For many years a dispute had existed as to the boundary between British Guiana and the neighbouring republic of Venezuela. An impression prevailed in the United States that Great Britain was unjustly

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seeking to extend her possessions at the expense of a weaker state. President Cleveland, claiming the right to protect South American republicanism against European aggression, called upon England to submit the dispute to arbitration. Lord Salisbury, while denying the right of intervention claimed by the United States, consented, with certain restrictions, to accept the method of settlement proposed. Accordingly a treaty for arbitration was signed at Washington on February 2, 1897, and a court was established to determine the disputed boundary. It gave judgment in October 1899, awarding to British Guiana the greater part of the territory claimed by the British Government.

10. **China.**—In 1894 a war broke out between China and Japan, in the course of which China was completely defeated. The break-up of the Chinese Empire seemed a possible consequence, and the European powers began to lay hands upon Chinese territory. Russia claimed the control of Manchuria and annexed Port Arthur; Germany seized Kiao-Chau; and Great Britain took possession of Wei-hai-wei, and extended her territory on the mainland opposite Hong-Kong. The result was a popular movement in China directed against all foreigners and their friends. Large numbers of Chinese Christians and many European missionaries were barbarously murdered. The German ambassador was killed in the streets of Pekin, and the ambassadors of the other powers with their retinues were besieged in the British Legation in that city. The great powers of Europe, joined by the United States and Japan, intervened to restore order and protect their representatives. An army composed of the soldiers of many nations, of which the English and Indian troops formed part, captured Pekin, and set at liberty the besieged ambassadors. (August 1900.) But the restoration of order in China and the settlement of terms was a work of greater difficulty, and was not effected till the following year.

11. **South Africa and the Transvaal War.**—In 1899 war broke out in South Africa. The conventions by which Mr. Gladstone's government had annulled the annexation of the Transvaal Republic and restored to its inhabitants the right of self-government subjected it to a vague British suzerainty. The limits of the republic were defined, and the Transvaal was prohibited from entering into any treaties with foreign states without the consent of the British Government. From the first there was much friction, and many disputes arose. The Boers persistently overpassed the boundaries imposed by the conventions, in order to conquer fresh territory from the natives. The British Government had to inter-

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fere to prevent the annexation of Zululand and Bechuanaland, and north of the Transvaal a British colony called Rhodesia was established in 1889 by a chartered company called the British South Africa Company. A more serious cause of dispute arose from the treatment of British settlers in the Transvaal. Many Englishmen were established in that country before its retrocession by Mr. Gladstone, and the discovery of large goldfields there in 1886 attracted a large white population, four-fifths of which was of British origin. These immigrants, whom the Boers called 'outlanders,' were badly governed, heavily taxed, and persistently denied the political rights which the men of Dutch descent enjoyed in all the British colonies in Africa. Discontent spread among the outlanders, and, as all redress of their grievance was refused, some of them plotted an armed rising in order to force concessions from the Transvaal Government. At the end of 1896 a small body of irregular troops levied for the defence of the territories of the Chartered Company against the natives entered the Transvaal, but were defeated and captured by the Boers. Though 'Jameson's raid,' as this invasion was termed, from the name of its leader, was disavowed by the British Government, it greatly increased the friction which already existed between the republic and its suzerain. The Transvaal Government, which had at first promised concessions to the outlanders, became still more hostile to them, and prepared large armaments. In 1899 the British outlanders petitioned the Queen to intervene on their behalf, and Mr. Chamberlain, the Secretary for the Colonies, demanded that they should be granted political rights. Mr. Krüger, the President of the Republic, refused any substantial concessions, and demanded, on behalf of the Transvaal, the complete abolition of British suzerainty. No agreement was arrived at, and, as the British Government declined to withdraw the troops which it had sent to the Cape, President Krüger published a declaration of war and invaded the British colonies. (October 1899.) The Boers of the Transvaal, who were joined by those of the Orange Free State and by many colonial rebels, gained at first many successes. Mafeking and Kimberley, in the north-west of Cape Colony, were for many months besieged, and the army of 11,000 men charged with the defence of Natal was shut up in its fortified camp at Ladysmith. Efforts to relieve Kimberley and Ladysmith were defeated with loss at Magersfontein and Colenso. Early in 1900, however, Lord Roberts relieved Kimberley, forced 4,000 Boers to surrender at Paardeberg, and successively occupied the capitals of the Free State and the

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Transvaal. General Buller about the same time relieved Ladysmith, and drove the Boer forces out of Natal. President Krüger fled to Europe, and the annexation of the two Boer republics was proclaimed. Nevertheless, their subjugation was only partial, and for some time longer roving bands of Boers carried on an active guerilla war.

While the Transvaal War, like the Crimean War, revealed many defects in the organisation of the army, it also exhibited a convincing proof of the military value of the colonies. The self-governing colonies of Great Britain, regarding the war as one for the unity of the Empire, sent contingents of volunteers to take part in it. It became evident that the Empire, which had grown up during the nineteenth century, was not a collection of heterogeneous atoms, but a great association of states bound together by common interests and common aims.

Queen Victoria did not live to see the conclusion of the war: she died on January 22, **1901**, in her eighty-second year, having reigned a longer time than either Elizabeth or George III. Like Queen Elizabeth, she might have said with truth that she never cherished a thought in her heart that did not tend to her people's good (p. 478). Her influence in public affairs was constantly employed to moderate party differences, and to facilitate the harmonious working of the constitution. Though with the advance of democracy, the direct power of the monarchy steadily diminished, its popularity, thanks to her, had continually increased. She left her successor not only wider dominions than she had inherited, but a throne established upon a firmer because a broader basis.

Books recommended for the further study of Part XI.

WALPOLE, SPENCER. A History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in 1815. Vol. ii. p. 159-vol. V.

———————— Life of Lord John Russell.

LE MARCHANT. Memoir of Viscount Althorp, third Earl Spencer.

GREVILLE, CHARLES C. F. Memoirs.

MCLENNAN, J. K. Memoirs of Thomas Drummond.

THURSFIELD. Peel. MORLEY, J. Life of Richard Cobden.

BULWER, SIR H. L., and ASHLEY, HON. E. Life of Viscount Palmerston.

REID, T. WEMYSS. Life of W. E. Forster.

HAMLEY, GEN. SIR E. The Crimean War.

KAYE, SIR JOHN, and MALLESON, COL. G. B. History of the Indian Mutiny.

O'BRIEN. Life of Parnell. MILNER. England in Egypt.

BRODRICK, Hon. G. C. The Political History of England. Vol. x. (1801–1837).

LOW, SIDNEY. The Political History of England. Vol. xii. (1837–1901).

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CHAPTER LXII

THE NINE YEARS OF KING EDWARD VII.'S REIGN, 1901–1910

LEADING DATES

Accession of King Edward VII.	Jan. 1901
Boer War (from Oct. 1899) ended by Peace of Vereeniging	May 1902
Lord Salisbury's Ministry	1895–1902
Balfour's Ministry	July 1902–Dec. 1905
Alliance with Japan (renewed 1905)	1902
Education Act	1902
Irish Land Act	1903
Anglo-French Agreement	1904
Russo Japanese War	1904–5
Dogger Bank Incident	Oct. 1904
Campbell-Bannerman Premier	Dec 1905–8
Anglo-Russian Agreement	1907
Revolution in Turkey	Oct. 1908
Austria annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina	Oct. 1908
Asquith Premier	1908
Old-Age Pensions	1908
South African Union	1909
Dissolution on Question of Budget	Jan. 1910
Accession of King George V.	May 1910
Arbitration on Atlantic Fisheries Dispute	1909–1910

1. **Accession of King Edward VII.**—Though the majority supporting Lord Salisbury's Ministry was still unimpaired, Parliament had been dissolved in the autumn of **1900**. The Government, appealing to the country to strengthen their position in settling affairs in South Africa, had secured a majority of 134 over Liberals and Irish Nationalists combined. On the death of Queen Victoria on January 22, **1901**, the Prince of Wales succeeded and took the title of Edward VII. For many years Parliament had been opened by Commission, but the new King opened Parliament in state. The **Coronation**, which had been fixed for the end of June **1902**, had to be postponed owing to the sudden illness of the King; however, he happily recovered and was crowned in August. The Prime Ministers of the self-governing colonies had come to England for the Coronation, and an Imperial Conference was held, at which they offered increased contributions for naval defence.

The Ministry was modified, Lord Lansdowne relieving the Premier of the duties of the Foreign Office. A new Act rendered

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reappointment unnecessary in the case of Ministers and other officials on the demise of the Crown. Parliament had duly met without summons on the Queen's death, in accordance with Statute.

Photo: W. & D. Downey] [*57 Ebury Street, London.*

King Edward VII.

2. **Boer War.**—At the end of **1900** it was thought that the Transvaal War was practically over (p. 978), but the vast extent of

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the veldt with the wild and mountainous nature of the country lent itself to guerilla warfare, in which remarkable skill was shown by the Boers, who had been hunters of game and unerring shots with the rifle all their lives ; they were mounted, and knew where to retreat when pressed and how to make surprise attacks. General L. Botha operated in the East of the Transvaal and threatened raids on Natal. De la Rey was active in the north-west of the Transvaal, while De Wet in the south-west of the Orange Free State crossed the Orange River and made raids far into Cape Colony, trying to stir up an insurrection there and even having hopes of reaching Cape Town. But martial law being proclaimed in Cape Colony there were not many who were willing to rise ; the loyal colonists gave active service as volunteers, and eventually De Wet had the utmost difficulty in escaping almost single-handed back over the Orange River with the loss of nearly all his horses. Lord Kitchener, who had succeeded Lord Roberts in command, kept his troops along the lines of railway and established chains of blockhouses to hold the Boers in check. There was still need of great numbers of troops ; the Regular Army did not nearly suffice ; colonial contingents from Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand and Canada gave invaluable help, while there were many volunteers from England. The lack of trained troops was felt, and there were surprises and regrettable reverses ; but the Boers were gradually worn down, losing all their guns and almost all their transport, till finally on May 31, **1902**, they made peace at Vereeniging, laying down their arms and recognising the King. On the other side it was agreed that military government should give way to civil, and that as soon as circumstances admitted representative institutions, leading up to self-government, should be introduced. A free grant of 3,000,000*l.* was to be given to enable the Boers to stock their farms and re-settle on the land.

3. **Chief Measures of Balfour's Ministry.**—In July **1902** Lord Salisbury resigned on account of age and was succeeded as Premier by his nephew Mr. A. J. Balfour, already the leader in the House of Commons. The **Education Act** of **1902** was one of the principal measures passed by his Ministry. The Act was important as an attempt to organise our educational system. Power was given for the first time to aid higher education by a limited rate. Education was brought under the ordinary local authorities and the School Boards established under Forster's Act in **1870** (*see* p. 963) were abolished. While all elementary education in the rural districts was to be administered by the county councils, in towns it was

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generally put under the borough councils, except in London, where in 1903 it was brought under the County Council. Voluntary or denominational schools, chiefly Church of England and Roman Catholic schools, were to be let to the local authority without rent and their buildings were to be repaired and improved at the cost of their trustees; but, on the other hand, these 'non-provided' schools were to receive assistance from the rates in the same way as 'provided' schools, formerly called board schools; while the trustees of these 'non-provided' schools were allowed to appoint a

Photo:] Lord Salisbury. *[Russell & Sons.*

majority of the managers. These last two provisions were bitterly resented by the Nonconformists, and the subsequent Liberal Government made attempts to overthrow the arrangement, but were foiled by the House of Lords. After a conference between the representatives of the landlords and tenants in Ireland, the Government passed an **Irish Land Purchase Act** in 1903. Advances were made to tenants by the State to enable them to purchase the estates of landlords who were willing to sell; landlords were induced to

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sell by the offer of a bonus of 12 per cent.; prices were based on rents fixed by the Land Commission, and nearly seventy years were allowed for repayment to the State. Mr. Wyndham, in introducing the Bill, pointed out that under the existing Land Purchase Acts instalments had always been paid. The great success of the Act caused a difficulty, as the State could not find money quickly enough to meet all claims. The Government also passed the **Licensing Act, 1904,** which prescribed that when a license for selling liquor was taken away by the magistrates from an inn or public-house not on the ground of misconduct but because such a house was not required, or on some other public ground, compensation should be paid, but by the trade itself, a special tax for this purpose being imposed on licenses which were renewed. The payment of compensation in any form for the loss of an annual license was violently opposed by the Liberals and the Act was only passed by a drastic use of the closure. By the **Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905,** Distress Committees were to be established in London and other large towns to give employment or relief to the unemployed, and the expenses, not met by voluntary contributions, were to be borne by the rates. In the case of smaller local bodies the adoption of the Act was to be optional. The majority of the Poor Law Commission in 1909 reported that the Act by systematising relief work without altering its demoralising character had intensified its evils. An **Aliens Act,** giving power to exclude undesirable immigrants, was passed in 1905.

4. **General Review of Foreign Policy. First Period.**—The Foreign Policy of the reign began with three traditions: (1) apprehension of the aggression of Russia; (2) attachment to Germany; (3) estrangement from France. The fear of Russian designs was the leading motive of the first period. The attempt to secure the co-operation of Germany in checking Russia's action against China by the Anglo-German Agreement of 1900 having failed, England was ready to listen to the overtures made by Japan. The establishment by Russia of a protectorate over Manchuria and her threatening attitude towards China and Korea aroused uneasiness in England as regards the menace to her important Chinese trade, while in Japan it excited the greatest hostility, as threatening her own independence. The result was that an **Anglo-Japanese Alliance** was made in January 1902 for five years. The object was stated to be to protect China and Korea from aggression. If in defence of these interests one of the allies was involved in war with one Power the other ally was to remain neutral, but if two Powers attacked, then the two allies were to make war together.

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The alliance was popular in England and in Japan, but some thinkers considered it involved too serious risks for England, whose interests did not seem to be vitally imperilled.

It may be added that in August **1905** the alliance was renewed in a more intimate form, its operation being extended to attacks on India and both allies being bound to repel aggressive action, whether by one Power or more, against either country's territorial rights in the East.

5. **Russo-Japanese War. 1904-5.**—Japan, unable to obtain satisfaction, and being already prepared for war, on February 6, **1904**, withdrew her ambassador from St. Petersburg. At midnight on the 8th the Japanese fleet made a surprise attack on the Russian fleet at Port Arthur. Another fleet crushed the two Russian ships at Chemulpo, the port of Seoul, the capital of Korea, and landed troops there. Without the command of the sea Japan could not make war, as she could not land troops, but by these two steps a base was secured before the Russians had notice that hostilities had begun. On the 10th Japan made a formal declaration of war. The First Japanese Army forced a passage over the river Yalu into Manchuria and the Second Army cut off Port Arthur from the north. A Third Army laid siege to Port Arthur, while the Second Army defeated a Russian relieving force. This was only achieved by desperate fighting. Kuropatkin, the Russian general, was next forced back by ten days' continuous fighting from Liaoyang to Mukden.

Meanwhile England was profoundly agitated. Admiral Roshdestvensky with a Russian fleet was proceeding southwards through the North Sea when some of his cruisers opened fire on a fleet of English fishing vessels from Hull, which were peacefully trawling on the **Dogger Bank**, but which the Russians mistook for Japanese torpedo boats. As the Russian naval officers refused to admit their mistake matters seemed serious ; but eventually the issue was referred to an International Commission, and Russia paid the indemnity claimed. The progress of Roshdestvensky's Fleet made it vital for the Japanese to hasten the fall of Port Arthur, which finally surrendered on January 1, **1905**. This freed the besieging force, and before the determined assaults of five armies the Russians had to retreat from Mukden.

Finally Roshdestvensky's fleet was crushed by Togo in the Straits of Tsushima. Peace was made on the kindly intervention of President Roosevelt, Japan securing a practical protectorate over Korea and Port Arthur, while the rest of Manchuria was to be evacuated by both parties.

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6. **Foreign Policy, 2nd Period.**—The next change in our foreign policy was in the cessation of our estrangement from France. On the one hand the menacing increase of the German fleet and other causes led our statesmen to a reconsideration of our international relations. At the same time King Edward, exerting himself throughout his reign in the interests of peace and goodwill and in the settlement of international disputes by arbitration, devoted himself to the conciliation of France. He visited Paris, and being very popular with the French President and people created an atmosphere in which friendly diplomacy could work. A good understanding that was called **Entente Cordiale** was established and a Treaty of Arbitration between the two countries was made in October **1903**. Finally an **Anglo-French Agreement** was signed on April 8, **1904**, which removed all existing causes of difference. Questions about the Newfoundland fishery and the frontiers of West African colonies were amicably settled. France recognised Britain's predominant position in Egypt, and England agreed to give France a free hand in Morocco, where she had trouble with the tribes on the Algerian frontier, so long as nothing was done to interfere with the free passage of the Straits of Gibraltar.

The Agreement was a purely peaceful one and implied no hostility to any other Power, but the drawing together of France and England was the cause of profound dissatisfaction in Germany. The French Foreign Minister, **M. Delcassé**, the promoter of the Anglo-French Agreement, who was believed to be the advocate of a further Anglo-French Alliance, had eventually to resign in **1905**. This was considered a signal triumph of German diplomacy, which was now very active in interfering in the question of Morocco on the plea of protecting German interests. In **1906** a Conference was held at **Algeciras**, near Gibraltar. Germany was at first very hostile to France, but eventually the Conference decided that France was to be allowed to act on the Algerian frontier, and, further, that there was to be a Moorish police force with French and Spanish officers. In consequence France and Spain both entered on warlike operations with **Morocco**. Subsequently there was again serious friction between Germany and France about some German deserters from the French troops there, but the matter was referred to arbitration.

France now the friend of England was also the ally of Russia, and the next step was to remove the friction which had long existed between England and Russia. Some of the outstanding questions at issue were settled by an **Anglo-Russian Convention**

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which was signed on August 31, 1907. The independence of Persia was to be respected by both countries: Russia was to have as her sphere of influence for commercial concessions etc. the north of Persia, including the capital, Teheran; England was to have a smaller sphere in the south-east near Baluchistan. Afghanistan was to be kept from Russian influence, but England was not to alter the *status quo* in that country. This part of the Convention was to be subject to the consent of the Ameer. While the idea of a friendly agreement with Russia was welcomed, the actual terms of the Convention were criticised as being unfavourable to British interests.

7. **Foreign Countries.**—In **1901** a conflict between Chili and Argentina was averted by the arbitration of King Edward VII. In the same year in the United States President McKinley was shot by a Polish Anarchist; this was the third time that a President of the United States had been assassinated. The Vice-President, Theodore Roosevelt, a man of great strength of character, succeeded, in accordance with the Constitution; he became most popular and was re-elected as President from **1904** to **1909**. The United States, having bought up the French interest, determined to construct the **Panama Canal**. In **1903** the Congress of the Republic of Colombia, as sovereign of the Isthmus, having refused to ratify the treaty allowing the construction of the Canal, the Province of Panama declared itself an independent republic and accepted the terms proposed. Great progress has been made in the sanitation of the isthmus and in the construction of the canal.

In **Servia** there had been two rival royal families, the Obrenovitch and the Karageorgevitch. In **1903** Europe was horrified to hear that through an anti-dynastic plot King Alexander (the last Obrenovitch), with his Queen, Draga, had been murdered by officers in the army. Peter Karageorgevitch succeeded, but was not recognised by Great Britain for some time.

After the unsuccessful war, there were widespread revolutionary movements in **Russia**. In **1905** a Constitution was granted and a Duma or Parliament was established, but the first and second democratic Dumas were soon dissolved. A third Duma was elected in **1907** by indirect election, and also a Council of the Empire or a Second Chamber, half being elected and half nominated by the Czar. Both Houses were given equal powers and a measure had to be passed by both before being submitted for Imperial sanction.

The Union between **Sweden and Norway** existing since **1814**

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was repealed by a peaceful revolution in **1905**, and Prince Carl of Denmark, a nephew of our Queen Alexandra, was elected King of Norway as Haakon VII. In **1906** Alfonso, King of **Spain**, married Princess Ena of Battenberg, the niece of King Edward VII.; this was notable as the first intermarriage between the royal families of England and Spain since Queen Mary was wedded to Philip. After the ceremony a bomb was thrown at the royal carriage by an anarchist, causing great loss of life, though the King and Queen were fortunately uninjured. In **Portugal** party Government had been unsuccessful, and Senhor Franco, becoming Premier, tried to govern for a time without a parliament; this caused great resentment, especially among the politicians, which culminated in **1908** in the assassination of both the King and the Crown Prince. The next heir, only seventeen years of age, was also wounded, but succeeded to the crown as King Manoel. There was no real investigation into the murders, and it seemed as if the dynasty was not popular and as if there was a strong republican party in the capital.[1]

8. **Tariff Reform.**—In **1903** Mr. Chamberlain, the able Colonial Secretary in Mr. Balfour's Ministry, advocated a modified form of Protection, which was called **Tariff Reform.** (1) A preference in trade was to be given to our Colonies, and (2) taxes were to be levied on imports, except raw materials, and there was to be retaliation against hostile tariffs. There was to be in fact a reversal of the Free Trade system of the last sixty years, the experience of which had led Free Traders to believe that all trade flourishes best when it is not interfered with by duties, while a preference to Colonial produce, involving a duty on imports of wheat etc. from other countries, would raise the price of food. The Tariff Reformers, on the other hand, argue that their policy would bind the Colonies closer to the Mother Country, diminish unemployment by stimulating home industries, be a useful weapon in fighting hostile tariffs, while not appreciably increasing the cost of food. On September 18 Mr. Chamberlain resigned in order to advocate his policy more freely. The Free Trade Ministers in the Cabinet, in ignorance of Mr. Chamberlain's resignation, also resigned. The Ministry was remodelled and lasted two years more, but the gradual weakening of the Government and the internal dissensions of the party on the Tariff Question led to the resignation of Mr. Balfour on December 4, **1905**.

[1] On October 4, 1910, the anti-monarchical party in Lisbon accomplished a revolution with little difficulty. King Manoel fled the country, and a Republican Government was established.

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9. **Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith Ministries.**—In December, **1905**, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman became Premier on Mr. Balfour's resignation and dissolved Parliament. The Unionists returned with only 157 instead of 369; the Liberals with 379, besides more than 50 Labour members and 83 Nationalists.

In April **1908** Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman resigned from ill-health, and was succeeded by Mr. Asquith, whose place as Chancellor of the Exchequer was taken by Mr. Lloyd George.

10. **Army and Navy Reform.**—The Boer War revealed the utter inadequacy of the British army as regards numbers and the insufficiency of its training and organisation. A new danger appeared on the horizon. United Germany for the last thirty years had been rapidly increasing in population, in the volume of her industries, and in wealth, and had become a formidable rival to England in trade. Not content with the possession of the most powerful army in Europe she has especially in King Edward's reign been building a powerful navy and making extensive naval works on her northern coasts. Such measures could not but arouse suspicion and raise the question whether our army and navy were sufficient at once for the defence of our own shores and our world-wide Empire. The plan of universal military training has been advocated by Earl Roberts and other reformers. The government has so far aimed at improving our existing resources. Under Mr. Balfour's Ministry in **1903** the Council of Defence was enlarged from a mere Committee of the Cabinet to one including naval and military experts as permanent members. In **1905** Mr. Balfour stated that England ought to be prepared to meet an invading force of 70,000 men. Considerable advance has been made by Mr. Haldane's scheme of **1907**. By this there is established (1) a field army or expeditionary force of about 160,000 men, serving seven years and then five in the reserve, while nucleus battalions to train drafts and a special reserve to fill up wastage in war are to replace the Militia, which is abolished; (2) there is enrolled a home army, as a second line (replacing the Volunteers), formed as a Territorial Force of about 300,000 men and supplied with artillery, the former Yeomanry being remodelled as the cavalry of this force; this home army is organised on a county basis and has to serve for four years, drilled on Volunteer lines, but having to spend eight or fifteen days in camp each year. There is a General Staff for the whole. Increases were made in Army Service and Medical Corps, while to supply the deficiency of officers a Senior Officers' Training Corps was formed at the Universities and a Junior one at the public schools. The new force is

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much more completely organised than the old Volunteers, while it is animated by the same patriotic spirit, but some doubt the possibility of its securing numbers and time for training. On the necessity of keeping up a powerful navy there was practically general agreement. In **1904-5** changes were made in naval training; it was recognised that naval officers must be thoroughly versed in mechanics, and steps were taken towards a fusion of the engineering and executive branches by adopting a common system for the training of cadets. Arrangements were also made by which the fleets in home waters were strengthened. Further, the largest battleship ever built, the first 'Dreadnought,' was laid down. The subsequent building in Germany of several ships of this type has led to a large increase in our naval expenditure, in order that we may maintain what is called the Two-Power Standard, according to which England, having to defend an Empire scattered over the globe, should be able to compete by herself on equal terms with any two other Powers. The danger to the Empire has been recognised by the Colonies, and the **Imperial Conference of 1909** formulated a scheme for joint action on the basis of local autonomy, with unity of strategic control in time of war. An Imperial General Staff was established. New Zealand determined to adopt a system of universal military training, and further offered England to defray the cost of a 'Dreadnought'—an offer which was gratefully accepted. Australia offered 500,000*l.* a year towards a fleet in Eastern waters, and also decided in favour of compulsory military training of all able-bodied Australians.

11. **Colonies.**—The reign has been noteworthy for the drawing together of the Colonies and the Mother Country. Mr. Chamberlain distinguished himself by his exertions with this object. The Heir to the Throne (having not yet been created Prince of Wales) presided, as Duke of Cornwall, on May 9, **1901**, over the inauguration of the first representative assembly of the Australian Commonwealth, formed by the federation of the five Australian Colonies and Tasmania. He also visited Tasmania, New Zealand, Canada, Natal and Cape Colony, representing the person of the Sovereign and meeting with a most loyal reception. The Transvaal and the Orange River Colony were administered after the peace by a Governor and a Lieutenant-Governor, assisted by an Executive and a Legislative Council. At the close of **1906** the Liberal Government, dispensing with the proposed intermediate stage of representative institutions, granted responsible self-government, with a Legislative Council at first nominated by the Governor and a Legislative Assembly freely elected. In **1908** a further step was taken. The colonies of South Africa decided in favour of

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union as distinct from mere federation ; Pretoria was to be the seat of Government but Parliament was to meet at Cape Town ; British and Dutch were to have equal rights, representation being based on adult suffrage of whites.

The first Parliament of United South Africa was opened on November 4, 1910, by the Duke of Connaught, representing his nephew, King George. While party government seems to some to divide the nation, the Monarchy stands as the cherished symbol of unity throughout the Empire.

The Atlantic Fisheries Dispute.—It was agreed early in **1909** that the long-standing dispute about the rights of the United States in our **Newfoundland Fisheries** should be referred to The Hague. The matter was decided in September **1910**. On two most important points, (1) the sovereign rights over the Newfoundland waters, and (2) the definition of the three-mile limit in wide bays, the British contentions have been confirmed ; on other points the views of the United States have prevailed. It is a tribute to the principle of arbitration and to the arbitrators concerned that a dispute of nearly a hundred years' standing has been thus promptly and equitably determined.

12. **India.**—In consequence of the systematic violation of treaties the Indian Government sent an expedition into **Tibet** in **1903** under General Younghusband, who forced his way over high mountain passes to the capital, Lhasa, considered inaccessible, and there dictated terms of peace and exacted an indemnity. In India itself there was continued **unrest** among the Hindus, fomented by the Brahmins, the natural leaders of the caste system in India. Among other causes the defeat of Russia by Japan spread the idea that the Eastern peoples were not inferior to those of the West. The sedition spread from the Deccan to Bengal. In **1908** a revolutionary plot for the manufacture and use of bombs was discovered. There were assassinations in London as well as in India, where bombs were thrown at the Viceroy. A severe Explosives Act had to be passed, seditious newspapers suppressed, and some revolutionaries deported. At the same time an advance was made in the direction of self-government by increasing the number and powers of Legislative Councils, extending the principle of representation, and nominating natives to Provincial Executive Councils and even to the Executive Council of the Viceroy. The unrest was confined to the Hindus, the Mohammedans remaining loyal and only anxious that their rights should not be interfered with by the Hindus. The natives princes were also loyal.

13. **Revolution in Turkey.**—There had been misgovernment in

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Turkey, causing unavailing protests from the Powers. A movement for reform arose among the 'Young Turks,' who desired to introduce juster administration and some form of constitutional government in place of the corrupt autocracy which was ruining the country. In **1908** a so-called 'Committee of Union and Progress,' a reforming party composed chiefly of officers, planned a revolution; two army corps at Adrianople and Salonika were won over; the Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid surrendered and granted a Constitution, or rather restored the short-lived Constitution which he had conceded at the instance of Midhat Pasha in **1878**.

About the same time Prince Ferdinand of **Bulgaria** proclaimed himself King, declaring Bulgaria to be an independent Kingdom and no longer an autonomous Principality under the suzerainty of Turkey.

Austria-Hungary also finally annexed **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, which had before been under the suzerainty of Turkey. England and Russia protested against any infraction of the Treaty of Berlin **1878** (p. 969), but after some controversy acquiesced. Germany, supporting Austria, was believed to have given a veiled ultimatum to Russia. Some compensation was given to Turkey for the loss of her nominal suzerainty.

Crete also took the opportunity to declare its union with Greece, but the Powers were able to prevent a war by forcibly maintaining the *status quo*.

In **1909** Abd-ul-Hamid attempted a counter-revolution with the help of the troops in the capital, but the Army Corps from Macedonia marched on Constantinople, the Sultan was deposed, and his brother proclaimed as Mohammed V. In Greece in **1909** a league of officers used troops to overawe the Chamber which had to pass the measures demanded: a National Revisionary Assembly was afterwards convoked.

14. **Social Reform: Labour Party and Socialists.**—The spread of democratic and socialistic ideas has greatly influenced legislation. It has been well said that though political equality has been successfully attained by democratic measures, yet improvement in economic conditions has come but slowly, and this has produced an atmosphere of disappointment and discontent in the working-classes. At the same time a fuller recognition has been given to the evils attending our existing industrial system and social conditions, as shown in disputes between capital and labour, 'sweating' or underpayment of workers, uncertainty of employment, as well as destitution. While the older Political Economy was chiefly concerned with the production of wealth, the economical questions

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of the present day deal rather with its unequal distribution. Further, the socialistic idea that the State can remedy all evils largely prevails. The advent of a large Labour party in Parliament could not fail to bring such questions into greater prominence.

Labour Party and Socialists. — In previous Parliaments a few Labour members, working men or others who undertook to represent the interests of Labour, had obtained seats, but the Parliament of **1906** was remarkable as the first in which Labour members sat as a distinct and considerable party numbering over 50, and though all generally voted with the Liberals about 30 of them were pledged not to identify themselves with either the Liberal or Conservative party, but to support a Socialist programme. These last members were paid by a Parliamentary fund levied on members of the trade unions affiliated to the Socialist party, but Conservative and non-Socialist members of these unions objecting, compulsory levies to pay these members were declared illegal by the Courts in a judgment called the 'Osborne Judgment,' from the name of the plaintiff, a railway workman. The Labour party and the trade unions did not adopt Socialism till the Conference at Hull in January **1908**, which by a majority of about 5 per cent. declared for the 'socialisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange.' The leading body of English Socialists is known as the Independent Labour party, distinct from the Labour party but working with it. The more revolutionary Socialist party is the Social Democratic Federation. An important measure called the **Trades Disputes Act** was passed at the close of **1906**. The Labour party succeeded in altering the Government proposals so as (1) to prevent anyone from recovering penalties from the officials of a trade union for any damage caused by their action, (2) to abolish the law of conspiracy as regards trade unions, and (3) to make 'peaceful picketing' legal. Some hold that trade unions are put by this Act in a special privileged position outside the ordinary law.

An **Old-Age Pensions Act** was passed on August 1, **1908**, by which poor persons over seventy years of age, with some exceptions, are entitled to a pension of five shillings a week, the pension decreasing in inverse ratio to the amount of yearly means and ceasing altogether if these exceed a yearly income of 31*l.* 10*s.* No previous contributions are required from the receiver. The cost of the scheme has necessarily largely increased the national expenditure.

Poor-Law Commission.—One of the last acts of Mr. Balfour's Ministry in **1905** was the appointment of a Royal Commission

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to inquire into the Poor Law. This Commission reported in 1909 that Boards of Guardians elected *ad hoc* were not satisfactory; that a better Poor Law Authority could be found in a Public Assistance Committee of the County Councils, with District Committees co-operating with voluntary aid; that instead of the general workhouse there should be institutions classified to meet the needs of different cases; further, there should be compulsory detention for habitual vagrants, and also detention colonies for the worst cases. To meet the difficulties of unemployment there should be Labour Exchanges and Insurance against Unemployment. The Minority Report of four members went much further, advocating the entire 'break-up of the Poor Law,' and proposing that unemployment should be dealt with by a Government Labour Market organised under a Minister of Labour spending at least 4,000,000*l.* a year in such a way as to 'regularise' employment. The Government have already established Labour Exchanges.

15. **Electoral Reform.**—The chief Electoral Questions that have been agitated are: (1) 'one man, one vote,' expressed in a **Plural Voting Bill**, abolishing the ancient franchise of ownership in counties, so that no elector could vote in more than one constituency; this was passed in the Commons but rejected in the Lords; (2) 'one vote, one value'—with regard to this, a **Redistribution** measure was proposed by Mr. Balfour shortly before his resignation, directed against the disproportion of constituencies by which, *e.g.* Romford has one member for 51,043 and Kilkenny City one for 1,700 electors; (3) **Proportional Representation**, the representation of minorities in proportion to their numbers, could, it is urged, be secured by making larger constituencies with several members; then if each voter was restricted to one vote, and this vote was made transferable, the voter could express his second, third, or other preference in case the candidate he most favours did not require his vote. Its advocates point out that in more than one General Election a majority of members has been returned by a minority of electors; (4) **Woman's Suffrage**, giving votes to women on the same terms as to men; this question has been hotly contested, the one side urging that women are entitled to vote as taxpayers, the other pleading that adult suffrage would follow and then the women electors would out-number the men; then, (5) there is the proposal of adopting the **Referendum** as practised in Switzerland, that is, a reference of a particular question to the electors without the disturbance and complicated issues of a General Election. Some advocate this as a check on the House

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of Lords, to prevent its rejecting Liberal measures while passing Conservative Bills ; others to secure that the Commons do not act in contravention of the wishes of their electors ; (6) lastly, there is the constitutional question as to the **House of Lords** : this has come especially to the front, because the Peers, while passing Bills brought in by Conservative governments, have frequently rejected important measures proposed by Liberal ministries. Leading peers have themselves proposed a reform on the principle that the possession of a peerage should not of itself make the holder a 'lord of Parliament,' but that further qualification, such as having held office of State, should be required. Liberals also have proposed reform, but many Liberals prefer that the Second Chamber should rather be weakened by limiting its power of veto than strengthened by reform.

16. **Finance Bill 1909 and Dissolution.**—Mr. Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought in a **Finance Bill** which led to a quarrel between the two Houses and to the dissolution of Parliament. Its salient features were heavy death duties, graduated income tax, a new system of land taxation striking at unearned increment and undeveloped land (necessitating an elaborate system of land valuation), and finally a great increase in the duties on spirits and on the licenses of public-houses. The House of Lords rejected the Bill by 350 to 75, claiming a right to refer the question to the electors. The Ministry, on the other hand, denied the right which the Lords claimed of rejecting a Money Bill, and carried a resolution in the House of Commons that the Lords' action 'was a breach of the Constitution and a usurpation of the rights of the Commons.' Mr. Asquith dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country, declaring his intention, if returned to office, of bringing in a Bill, on which he would stake the existence of his Government, to abolish the absolute veto of the Lords, by strictly limiting the number of times during which they should be able to reject a Bill when sent up to them more than once from the Commons. The issue was complicated by the question of Tariff Reform as well as by that of the action of the Lords. The result of the General Election (January–February **1910**) was the return of 273 Unionists, 275 Liberals, with 40 Labour Members and 82 Nationalists. As the Irish party held the balance of power and the license duties were not popular in Ireland the passing of the Finance Bill was still somewhat delayed, but eventually it went through the Commons practically unchanged and was passed by the Lords without opposition. The abolition of the Lords' absolute veto, requiring as it did

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the action of the Crown to override the opposition of the Lords, was not at once brought before the House owing to the sudden death of the King. It was felt it was hardly fair to the new King

Photo: Russell & Sons.] King George V.

to force on him the decision of such a momentous constitutional question at the commencement of his reign, and a Conference was arranged between four leaders of each of the two parties, in the hope that agreement might be reached.

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17. **Death of King Edward VII.**—On May 6, **1910**, King Edward VII died amid universal regret. His genial manner and conciliatory spirit had enabled him, 'while acting strictly within the limits of the Constitution, to create an atmosphere of international goodwill and good feeling which contributed immensely to the consolidation of peace and concord throughout the world.' The Prince of Wales, already highly esteemed as a naval officer, succeeded as King George V.

18. **Motors and Aeroplanes.**—The reign has been remarkable in engineering for the development of the motor industry; motor cars displacing carriages, taxi-cabs with automatic fare recorders taking the place of cabs, the motor-omnibus that of the horse-drawn vehicle, and the motor van or lorry conveying goods into the country, while motor engines are being applied to agricultural and marine purposes.

But the most remarkable progress has been made in the 'conquest of the air.' The first step was made by adding motor engines, propellers and rudders to airships inflated like balloons so as to be lighter than air. In **1900** Count Zeppelin built a large dirigible airship and navigated it over the Lake of Constance. In **1901** Santos Dumont won a prize at Paris for driving his dirigible balloon in a circular course. Then 'planes' or flat surfaces were attached like fins (or feathers on arrows) to steady the airship. Next other planes were added to direct it up and down at will.

The second or greatest advance was made when the lift of curved surfaces was utilised and the balloon principle was abandoned for that of real flying machines heavier than air. In **1905** the brothers Wright flew successfully on a biplane in America; in **1906** Santos Dumont flew a short distance in Paris. Great progress was made in **1908**. In **1909** Blériot flew across the Channel in a monoplane. Germany, France and other countries constructed aerial fleets, devoting attention to aeroplanes for scouting purposes and experimenting with dirigible airships not only for scouting, but for carrying guns and explosives as well. The advances made have been extraordinarily rapid and point to further remarkable progress in the future.

19. **Science.**—There has been a great development of telegraphic signalling, called **wireless telegraphy**, following on the discovery of electro-magnetic radiation or electric wave motion. A transmitter conveys rapid electric wave-impulses into space, and these are caught by a receiver or detector. In December **1901** Marconi succeeded in sending a message from Cornwall to New-

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foundland, and ships have been fitted with apparatus and can communicate with other ships or with the shore when out at sea. The system is being applied to military as well as to naval purposes. Men of science have further been studying the marvellous energy given out by **radium** and other radio-active substances, and also the part which electricity plays in the ultimate constitution of matter. Agricultural science has been working chiefly in two directions, one to find out the secrets of soil fertility, the other to improve the breeding of seeds, such as wheat and barley.

There have been serious **earthquakes**, by which San Francisco was destroyed in **1906**, Kingston in Jamaica in **1907**, and Messina with Reggio at the close of **1908**. The latter was a most appalling disaster.

In Arctic discovery we have to record the reaching of the North Pole by Peary in **1909** and the great advances made towards the Antarctic Pole, first by Scott, and then by Shackleton.

Books recommended for the study of Chapter LXII

Annual Register, 1901–1909.
Hazell's Annual 1902–1910.

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